DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 297 624 HE 021 536

AUTHOR	de los Santos, Alfredo G., Jr., Ed.
TITLE	From Access to Achievement: Strategies for Urban Institutions. Proceedings from a National Invitational Conference (Los Angeles, California, November 15-17, 1987).
INSTITUTION	American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.; Education Commission of the States, Denver, Colo.; National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance, College Park, MD.
SPONS AGENCY	Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.; Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	Nov 87
NOTE	241p.
AVAILABLE FROM	National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance, CSS Building, Room 4114, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Academic Achievement; *Access to Education; Administrative Policy; American Indians; Asian Americans; Black Students; College Environment; College Faculty; Colleges; Community Colleges; Court Litigation; Demography; Educational Environment; Educational Policy; Educational Quality; *Enrollment; *Equal Education; Ethnic Groups; Higher Education; Hispanic Americans; *Minority Groups; Universities

ABSTRACT

An overview is provided of the discussion at the conference, as well as edited versions of the keynote address and nine commissioned papers prepared as background for the working sessions: "Achieving Quality and Equality" (Donald M. Stewart); "Financial Aid and Ethnic Minorities" (Jacob O. Stampen and Robert H. Fenske); "Minority Education Opportunities: Mixed and Qualified Messages of Recent Supreme Court Decisions" (Monique Weston Clague); "Demographic Facts and Educational Consequences in the Five Southwestern States" (Leobardo F. Estrada); "Minority Degree Achievement and the State Policy Environment" (Patrick Callan); "Four-Year College and University Environments for Minority Degree Achievement" (Patricia Crosson); "Facilitating Degree Achievement by Minorities: The Community College Environment" (Arthur M. Cohen); "Improving Black Student Access and Achievement in U.S. Higher Education" (Walter R. Allen); "Faculty Issues Affecting Minorities in Higher Education" (James E. Blackwell); and "Administrative Commitments and Minority Enrollments: College President's Goals for Quality and Access" (Robert Birnbaum). References are provided for individual papers. (KM)

ED 297624

NATIONAL CENTER FOR POSTSECONDARY GOVERNANCE & FINANCE

FROM ACCESS TO ACHIEVEMENT: STRATEGIES FOR URBAN INSTITUTIONS
PROCEEDINGS FROM A NATIONAL INVITATIONAL CONFERENCE

Los Angeles, California
November 15 - 17, 1987

Richard C. Richardson Jr., Editor
Arizona State University and National Center
for Postsecondary Governance and Finance

Alfredo G. de los Santos Jr., Editor
Maricopa Community Colleges and the National Center
for Postsecondary Governance and Finance

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Sponsored by the National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance, The American Council on Education, and The Education Commission of the States.

Funded by the Ford Foundation, with additional support from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education.

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FOREWORD

On November 15-17, 1987 more than one hundred invited delegates representing K-12, colleges and universities, state coordinating and governing boards, national leadership organizations, and the research community gathered in a working conference in Los Angeles to consider the implications of existing research and institutional experience for the development of strategies aimed at reducing race/ethnic-related discrepancies in rates of baccalaureate degree attainment. The sessions focused on public colleges and universities in urban settings because such institutions award three-fourths of all the baccalaureate degrees earned by minorities in the U.S. These proceedings provide an overview of the discussion that occurred at the meeting as well as edited versions of the keynote address and nine commissioned papers prepared as background for the working sessions.

Conference Focus

Blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians remain under represented among the ranks of Americans earning baccalaureate degrees. A failure to address race/ethnic-related differences in educational attainment undermines the foundations of a free society, interferes with efforts to build a competitive work force, and raises doubts about the capacity of our educational system to respond to the demographic changes facing many states. While the problem is persistent and serious, the convergence of research findings and the experiences of urban institutions in graduating underrepresented minorities provide a basis for identifying practices with potential for enhancing college and university contributions to state and national equity goals. While we do not know all the specifics, we do know the general outline of needed actions. And without minimizing the importance of the federal role in providing,financial assistance and enforcing court decisions, statutes, and executive orders aimed at overcoming the effects of past discrimination, it is nonetheless appropriate to focus on the state and institutional role in moving beyond access to equal opportunity.

Actions Needed From State Government

State agencies determine the environment for public higher education in each state: by establishing priorities, through incentives and accountability measures, by the importance attached to cooperation among colleges and universities, by the groups they target in financial aid strategies, and by attempts to balance initiatives related to quality and access. The stable or declining federal financial aid picture, along with the recent Supreme Court decision terminating federal enforcement of Adams' decrees, leaves states with the primary policy role in addressing race/ethnicity-related discrepancies in access and achievement. The following actions were among those identified by conference participants as key to state efforts to achieve equal educational opportunity.

1. Adopting policy statements requiring public colleges and universities that serve predominantly white student populations to make observable progress toward reducing differences between the proportion of minority students graduating from high schools within their service areas and the proportions represented among entering freshmen classes and graduating seniors.

2. Monitoring information on the progress of institutions toward reducing race/ethnicity-related discrepancies in participation and graduation rates, and using such information as one input in determining institutional funding.

3. Promoting collaboration between public schools and higher education institutions in early identification and enrichment programs, in the articulation of admission requirements and course objectives, and in information and incentive programs for minority students and their parents.

4. Structuring financial aid programs to accommodate the part-time attendance patterns and gaps in educational preparation of students who reside in segregated sections of inner cities or on isolated reservations.

5. Ensuring that race/ethnicity-related barriers created by such quality initiatives as assessing the basic skills of entering freshmen, increasing admission requirements to colleges and universities, or using achievement exams to control progress into professional programs and upper division course work are offset by compensatory strategies and include arrangements that avoid tracking students into specific institutions or majors.

6. Establishing policies that require two-year and four-year institutions to work closely together to promote trouble-free transfer without unnecessary loss of credit, especially in urban settings.

7. Developing programs to recruit and train minority students for teaching and administrative positions at all levels within the educational system.

Actions Needed From Urban Colleges and Universities

Urban colleges and universities differ in their missions, resources, and student populations. They are similar in the educational opportunities they provide to upwardly mobile first-generation college students, many of whom are minorities or immigrants or both. Cities remain magnets for those seeking a better life, but opportunities come embedded in an environment frequently characterized by extreme residential segregation and high levels of poverty. Urban institutions are caught between their desire to achieve greater status within their respective systems by conforming to the standards and practices of their less urban counterparts and their need to respond to those who share their urban setting. While all colleges and universities should be concerned about eliminating race/ethnicity-related differences in participation and achievement, it is the urban institutions that have the most experience and the most potential for tearing down the barriers that stand in the way of national goals for equity and economic progress.

The actions identified below are designed to help urban colleges and universities remain urban institutions rather than becoming institutions in urban settings. Each has been found effective by institutions participating in the Los Angeles conference. These principles are also supported by available research. Few, if any, require the infusion of massive new funds although most assume the redirection of some existing resources. While all of the principles can be observed in many institutions, few apply them systematically as part of a comprehensive strategy. Colleges and universities concerned with reducing the importance of race/ethnicity as a determinant of educational opportunity will give attention to their entire range of educational practices by:

1. Establishing the elimination of race/ethnicity-related differences in participation and graduation rates as a major institutional priority.

2. Allocating institutional resources for support programs designed to recruit, retain, and graduate underrepresented minority students.

3. Monitoring information on progress in achieving racial/ethnic balance among faculty, administrators, and staffs, and using such information to design intervention strategies to reinforce success or to reverse failure.

4. Appointing minority men and women to visible positions of institutional leadership.

5. Developing exchange programs with predominantly minority public and independent institutions for administrators and faculty members to encourage the exchange of ideas and experiences.

6. Influencing colleges and departments to value and foster diversity among their faculty through staff development, recruitment procedures, reward structures, and criteria for tenure and promotion.

7. Emphasizing and rewarding excellent teaching as evidenced by competence in subject matter, sensitivity to cultural differences, communication and listening skills, caring, mentoring and articulating high expectations for all students.

8. Expanding the pool of qualified minority college teaching candidates by identifying and mentoring promising students or junior faculty members and providing them with incentives and support for completing additional graduate training.

9. Developing and supporting collaborative programs with school districts serving high proportions of minority students to raise student aspirations and expectations, and to strengthen their K-12 preparation.

10. Initiating programs to bring elementary and high school minority students and their parents into regular contact with the campus and with role models who have earned a baccalaureate degree there.

11. Determining early in the college experience "goodness of fit" for all students and providing comprehensive academic support services to address any preparation gaps.

12. Providing programs, services and physical facilities as interim strategies to help minority groups marginally represented on a campus retain their sense of cultural identification until racial/ethnic balance among faculty and students can be improved.

13. Encouraging colleges and departments to adopt systematic intervention strategies to engage minority students immediately after admission in discipline-based, intrusive advising/mentoring programs and to

organize them into collaborative learning groups for networking and mutual support.

14. Developing working relationships with schools, community colleges, churches, businesses, and other organizations in adjacent minority communities to improve the institutional image and environment for recruitment and retention.

The Commissioned Papers

The working sessions which produced the principles describe above were based upon a keynote address and nine commissioned papers. The address and the papers are reproduced in edited version in the remainder of these proceedings. In his keynote address, Donald M. Stewart, President of the College Board, called for a "full-court press" to achieve quality and equality to make access and achievement happen simultaneously. In his paper Stewart speaks to the issues of defining minority status and identifying barriers to college attendance. Striking a central note for the discussions that followed, Stewart calls for action at the national, state, and institutional levels to mobilize the national resources represented by the burgeoning minority population through ensuring that they receive the educational opportunities necessary for them to take their place in the economic growth so essential to the nation's future well-being.

Jacob O. Stampen, associate director of the National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance, University of Wisconsin-Madison, and Robert H. Fenske, professor,Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Arizona State University, in one of three papers designed to establish a general context for conference activity, traced the impact of great society financial aid programs on access for ethnic minorities, concluding that such programs were highly successful in raising the curve of minority participation. In the late 70s, however, they note that the curve flattens and starts to descend as college costs outpace student financial aid. Stampen and Fenske point to accelerating college costs, continuing inflation, shifts in the form of aid (from grants to loans), and higher admission standards as factors in the current decade contributing to a continuing decline in the rate of minority participation. They conclude by emphasizing the importance of improving academic performance among low income and minority students as the most critical strategy for reversing current trends.

In her paper, Monique W. Clague, associate professor, Department of Education Policy, Planning and Administration, University of Maryland-College Park, traces key affirmative action cases in terms of their impact on racial diversity as a consideration in decisions relating to employment and student admissions. She notes that the Supreme Court has rejected a color-blind interpretation of the constitution by establishing justifications for the adoption of racial and gender preferences in hiring and promotion. Clague concludes by identifying the limits of affirmative action preferences and suggesting areas that remain to be decided in future court actions. Her paper establishes a clear legal basis for institutional action on the recommendations from the conference.

Leobardo F. Estrada, associate professor of urban planning, Graduate School of Architecture, University of California - Los Angeles, paints a mixed picture of the outcomes of population growth in five southwestern states. While growth has had positive consequences in terms of increased consumer and tax bases and congressional representation, there are adverse consequences as well in the demands on social and welfare services, and in the investment requirements for expansion of the infra-structure. And the advantages of growth have not fallen evenly on those involved. One in three persons in the southwest are members of minority groups. Among other disadvantages they encounter scarcity of affordable housing, gentrification of older neighborhoods, and the emergence of new minority enclaves. The effect of these factors, according to Estrada, is to isolate minorities from the mainstream, to reduce their flow of information, and to intensify the impact of poverty. At the same time, the states in which they reside are facing severe budget constraints and weakened educational systems, raising serious concerns about their continuing ability to transform population growth into the trained work force necessary to sustain a technologically based economy.

The second set of three papers focus on state and institutional context. Patrick T. Callan, vice president for the Education Commission of the States, notes that state initiatives in the 80s were first directed to quality improvement. The cumulative impact of these initiatives on minority participation and degree achievement, along with the declining federal role in affirmative action efforts, has caused many states to move equity issues to the top of their agenda. Callan summarizes the results of recent studies of state-level initiatives aimed at improving educational opportunities for minority students and outlines recommendations for encouraging and improving minority participation in colleges and universities.

Patricia T. Crosson, associate professor of higher education, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, focuses on the internal environments of predominantly white four-year colleges and universities as these influence the opportunities for underrepresented minorities to attain baccalaureate degrees. She considers pre-college programs and services, programs addressing preparation problems and the academic environment, programs and services promoting student involvement in campus life, and the campus racial climate. Her article provides insights into the actions needed to improve the environment for minority degree achievement on the basis of information already available, while recognizing the need for continuing research.

Arthur M. Cohen, president of the Center for the Study of Community Colleges, Los Angeles, California discusses the role of the community college in preparing minority students for transfer to four-year institutions. He argues that studies showing students who enter two-year colleges are less likely to earn the baccalaureate degree overlook important differences in institutional environment, student preparation, and student motivation. While dismissing as unwarranted the arguments of those who suggest on the basis of these studies that community colleges constitute class-based tracking systems, he nonetheless acknowledges the possibilities for improvement in the way the transfer function is carried out. Cohen identifies a number of recommendations for improving outcomes for all students while reducing disproportionately the discrepancies in degree achievement and transfer between minority students and their majority counterparts.

The final set of three papers focus on internal actors. Walter R. Allen, associate professor of sociology, University of Michigan, contrasts the experiences of black men and women on predominantly white campuses with those attending predominantly black institutions in terms of their performance, racial attitudes, and college satisfaction. He notes that students who attend black institutions "purchase psychological well-being and spiritual affinity at the cost of less than favorable physical circumstances." On white campuses, where black students attain a better physical environment and greater bureaucratic efficiency, they experience less satisfying interpersonal relationships and less peace of mind. Allen concludes by challenging institutions to combine the best of both environments to avoid forcing black students to make this type of choice.

James E. Blackwell, professor of sociology at the University of Massachusetts-Boston, describes the impact of slippage in the educational pipeline on the production of minority candidates for faculty positions. He identifies strategies for increasing the number of minorities who earn the doctorate including institutional commitment, early identification and recruitment, grow-your-own programs, and a variety of pre- and post-doctoral financial aid plans. Blackwell then turns his attention to trends in the employment and retention of minority faculty members and identifies barriers to increased representation as well as strategies for overcoming these barriers. He concludes with a discussion of the ways in which minority faculty members can influence baccalaureate opportunities, singling out for special attention excellent teaching, mentoring, and intrusive advising.

In the concluding paper, Robert Birnbaum, professor of higher education at Teachers College, Columbia University, describes the tension experienced by college presidents between pressures for quality and the unfinished agenda on access. He examines the relationships between trends in minority student enrollments and the leadership priorities for improving access. While the results of this analysis are inconclusive, the evidence provides more support for the reactive nature of college leadership than for its proactive support of salient issues. Birnbaum concludes by suggesting that external forces promoting attention to access issues are more influential in securing college commitment than internal influences, lending added importance to the suggestions advanced by Callan.

The sense of those attending this working conference was that significant improvement in educational opportunities for minorities are attainable in the short run through the efforts of states and the institutions they support. There is also present in the aggregate the necessary knowledge of individual practices and interventions. By this point in time all institutions have many activities designed to improve minority student persistence and achievement. The major problem is that the interventions occur each in isolation from the other and without consideration of the adverse effects of attenuating practices and policies operating elsewhere in the institution.

The frustration attendant upon efforts to reform such autonomous enclaves as departments, academic administration, and bureaucratic student services, led many to conclude that radical reform was an essential prerequisite of significant improvement. Others were more hopeful that state and institutional commitment, along with systematic attention to all of the variables that influence minority student success, could accomplish needed change without the necessity of major restructuring. One missing element in many states and in many institutions is the capacity or inclination to monitor continuously timely and comprehensive data on progress in dealing with racial/ethnic imbalances. The inability of many states and institutions to know the degree to which established priorities are being achieved interferes with their efforts to take corrective action. Conversely, making information on performance widely available provides an incentive for action.

There are moral and economic reasons for addressing the issue of minority participation and achievement. Many programs of demonstrated efficacy have been identified. All that remains is for committed state and institutional leadership to take available knowledge and to employ it systematically in largely color-free strategies that would make higher education a more productive experience for all students. Minority students, as those most at risk under current practices, will benefit disproportionately. Over time the benefits that they accrue individually will bring important returns to the society that invested in them.

Richard C. Richardson Jr.
Alfredo G. de los Santos Jr.
Editors

ACHIEVING QUALITY AND EQUALITY

Donald M. Stewart

No need is more urgent today than the full and successful participation of minorities, particularly blacks, Hispanics, and native Americans, in the nation's schools and colleges. The issue is deep and compelling, whether from the point of view of competitiveness and productivity or equity and social justice.

The problem is complex, going beyond race and ethnicity to involve many different kinds of people in issues that are economic, social, academic, psychological, and political. The best approach to the problem is a series of interventions that begin at birth and end with the successful hiring of more minority Ph.D.'s as professors in the nation's colleges and universities. We need to reverse current trends, to create a wholly new momentum, and not relax efforts until all minority groups are fully involved and welcomed as students, teachers, and administrators at every level of the American educational system.

Questions That Require Answers

Who do we mean when we say minority, only blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians? Probably not. Where are the barriers to getting into higher education, to choosing exactly the right colleges, and to staying on to achieve associate and baccalaureate degrees? Do they take the form of entrance requirements, insufficient financial support, too rigorous or inappropriate curricula? What is needed in the college environment for minorities to be successful? Why are information programs so crucial to the process? And when do these interventions need to take place? Can access and quality go hand in hand, or is it an either/or situation?

Who Are the Minorities?

Minority groups are, themselves, very complex. The category of Hispanic minorities includes the very different groups of

Mexican Americans, Colombians, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans. If one looks at the population of black Americans, we find similar differences related to socioeconomic status and a variety of geographic factors. Asian Americans are similarly diverse, ranging from the high-achieving Chinese, Japanese, and Korean families, to children of Thai, Vietnamese, or Laotian families who do noticeably less well. Native Americans pose other questions and, according to Siporin (1987), are significantly underrepresented at UCLA and throughout the UC system in spite of the focused efforts in California to have participation rates that correspond to the percentages of groups in the larger society.

Notwithstanding the fact that many minority students, from all backgrounds, not only succeed but excel, without special assistance, taken as a group, minorities have lower participation rates, higher attrition rates (although this needs much more study), lower GPA's and slower progression rates than majority students by the end of their first year in college. Let me add immediately, however, as Richardson and Bender (1987) have noted, "Academic success is a function of preparation, not race" (p. 203).

Looking at the generic subgroups, we see enormous variation.

1. Between 1976 and 1985 the number of black high school graduates entering college dropped 26 percent.
2. Asian Americans are overrepresented at all levels of education and their enrollment grew 34 percent from 1980 to 1984.
3. The enrollment of native Americans is on a roller coaster: it increased by 4.8 percent from 1980 to 1982, and then dropped 5.7 percent in the following two years.

The solutions to our overall problem of minority underrepresentation in higher education inevitably will need to reflect the many subtleties of the subgroups involved. The drop or plateau in minority participation is particularly distressing. While general college participation has levelled, the number of high school graduates in most minority groups has been growing.

What Are the Barriers?

Too many colleges are insensitive to the overwhelming character of a debt of $10,000 for a youngster whose family's annual income may be half that. The possibility of college may seem forbidding to a young person, no matter how bright, who would be the first in his or her family to attend college and whose family views a college education with suspicion or believes it to be inappropriate. We need to do a better job of making the case for the value of higher education to the many more minority group members who can benefit from the college experience.

These barriers are real and cost higher education and our larger society dearly. According to Arbeiter (1987) the situations faced by inner-city youths such as crime, drugs, and early pregnancies, may not be the cause of declining black higher education participation:

> If 46 percent of black high school graduates had entered college in 1984 as they did in 1978, there would have been 316,480 black students enrolling...instead of 265,000.

Higher education lost over 50 thousand qualified students to business, noncollegiate postsecondary schools, and the armed forces, which alone increased the number of black enrolled by over 30 thousand between 1980 and 1984. Arbeiter argues that the decline in minority participation in higher education is due in no small measure to rational decisions being made by minorities, particularly males. They are seeking other career avenues rather than staying in college. Many of the problems can be traced to the quality of precollegiate schooling, finances, and family attitudes.

Notwithstanding the "marketing" approach that colleges are taking to recruitment, there has been nothing as effective for minorities as the Armed Forces "be all that you can be" campaign. We are not even in the same league in making our case, even though the College Board recently launched a "go to college, you can do it" campaign as well. I am not saying we should or could afford to use network television advertising, but even conceptually, we just have not approached the problem as it needs to be approached.

Second, there is the problem that Richardson and Bender (1987) describe as "the policy...to address past discrimination in the distribution of educational opportunities through the cheaper and efficient strategy of the commuter-oriented community college" (p. 4). And quoting (Orfield et al.) they note,

> minority universities may constitute an interlocking system of educational stratification that treats minority and low-income students 'differently,' which then tends to perpetuate separation and inequality.

Third, there is the question of money. The $22 billion that may be available from the federal government is not reaching all the minority students that it could or should. Moreover, not only has aid money shifted from grants to loans with the attendant problems mentioned above, but even the real value of the grants has dropped significantly in the past several years. Other administrative changes, such as the depressing impact that a Pell grant may have on eligibility for food stamps, are yet a further deterrent to minority students considering higher education. And, as we learned recently, the Department of Education, in mandating a loan default rate of some 20 percent is doing so in a manner that will disproportionately affect minorities and minority institutions as well as discourage other institutions from taking a chance on "at-risk" students.

It is a tragedy that this administration, while pursuing worthy goals of academic quality and personal responsibility, has chosen to do so in many cases in what can only be called a "ham-fisted" manner. The cost of the nonrecouped loans is nothing compared to the cost in welfare, medical costs, unemployment, and ruined lives if we cannot meaningfully increase the participation of all minority groups in education, higher education, and American life. Winning the battle, but losing the war, is not a policy that makes any sense to me. We have to do both, encourage -- no demand -- that each person taking a loan pay it back, but construct a method in which the country and poor people do not suffer in the process.

At the College Board we have taken this approach. Our philosophy is that while standards must be kept high, and even increased, this can only be done if at the same time we provide the means for encouraging and supporting young people from every background to be able to meet those standards. We must seek to create a level playing field, and this means starting much earlier than high school in preparing young people for college-level work.

Siporin (1987) has suggested that California is now starting as early as the third grade to provide information, counseling and encouragement to minority students and their families. And we are not taking nearly enough advantage of the many institutions within minority communities that serve as conduits for encouraging and informing families about the value, affordability, and appropriateness of higher education for their youngsters. ASPERA MALDEF, the Urban League and the NAACP are examples of organizations that have much to contribute. Business also can be an ally as evidenced by a statement from the Committee for Economic Development which suggests intervention for "at-risk" youngsters in the first years of life as the best and most cost effective way of ensuring that they develop, grow, and become productive citizens.

How Do Minority Students Experience College?

Most institutions of higher education are essentially meritocratic, regardless of structure, sector, or control. The best must be expected and rewarded on fairly strict terms tied to assessment of performance. There is no need to lower the standards. Doing so would undermine the status of minority students who would then be viewed as "second class" by their classmates. Needed instead are programs, counseling and an environment in which minorities can succeed in performing at the same standards as everyone else. At Spelman College in Atlanta we did much to raise standards by strengthening the curriculum, raising admission standards using the SAT, and holding expectations for our students that suggested success. We had strong advising and counseling services. At the same time we took many at-risk students who in Spelman's supportive environment thrived academically and with Morehouse College next door, grew socially as well.

Unlike historically black institutions such as Spelman, the retention and success of minorities in many majority institutions is not encouraging. According to Mingle (1987):

> Students on the 'fast track' are those who achieve senior status four years after high school graduation. One of every three Asians in the class of 1980 was on the 'fast track,' but only one in seven blacks and one in ten Hispanics.

Improving Opportunities For Minority Students

Interestingly, when we speak of higher education participation, we should make a distinction between two- and four-year colleges. At the former, minority participation exceeds the proportional representation in the general population. It is at the four-year institutions where minorities are so badly underrepresented. This should be an opportunity, and a source for four-year colleges to find qualified and prepared minority students. Unfortunately, to date, the success rate has been low.

It is not that colleges are unaware of the problems or unwilling to work to solve them. Effective remedial and counseling programs, while critical to retention, are poorly funded and receive low priority from institutional leaders. Furthermore, there is the question of institutional culture, as Richardson and Bender (1987) point out.

> The moral imperative to improve educational opportunities as a means of promoting social justice conflicts with the cultural idea of the self-directed and independent learner

functioning as a contributing member of a community of scholars (p. 94).

This is a crucial point. If we are to succeed in increasing the participation of minority students in higher education, it will come as the result of a major effort on the part of the leadership of colleges and universities. There is no question that the aspirations and motivations of the students themselves are critical to retention and academic achievement. And one of the trade secrets of teachers and leaders is that expectation is a self-fulfilling prophecy. A number of states are studying mentoring efforts as an important strategy for "raising sights."

There are three reasons why the importance of persistence cannot be overstated. The first involves the well-being of the individual student. The second relates to the importance of having a sufficient number of minorities enter the professions. The third, and in a sense most important, involves providing the opportunity for minorities to go on to earn graduate degrees and remain in academic life as professors and teachers. Nothing can be more encouraging to students than to have teachers and professors to whom they can relate on a personal, as well as intellectual, basis.

But the reality, according to the Sixth Annual Status Report on Minorities (1987), is just the opposite pointing to a negative spiral. The smaller the number of blacks, Hispanics, and native Americans going into the professoriate, the harder it is to get these groups into higher education as students, which lowers the potential pool from which to recruit new professors and so it goes. What is so vexing is the significant increase in the number of faculty retiring and the prime opportunity this presents to increase the number of minorities in faculty ranks. With approximately 500,000 faculty vacancies to be filled by the year 2020 (Bowen and Schuster 1986), we should be mobilizing all energy and resources to direct all the minority students possible to consider this very bright employment picture. Unfortunately, unless they come through the pipeline, there is little chance of them doing so.

One solution to many of these problems is timely and effective information. Each of the fifty states, both governor and legislators, need to know the following:

-- the representation of minority youth in their state;

-- the degree of educational success and achievement as a function of population;

-- clear highlighting of the problem areas; and

-- some estimate of the cost to the state and the nation of incomplete participation.

Community and civic organizations in the minority community need to understand the value of education for their young people, the ways that exist to overcome problems of cost, and the sincere interest on the part of many colleges in helping more minorities successfully participate in higher education.

Parents and students need to know at an early age the potential value to them of preparing for and participating in higher education, as well as understanding that cost does not have to be a barrier and that many campuses are working to make their young people welcome, successful, and happy.

Conclusion

There are growing numbers of successful projects, such as the Treisman Math/Science Workshop at the University of California at Berkeley. However, all to often already insecure minority students in majority institutions are reminded of the possible gaps in their educational backgrounds. These students are then pushed into remedial programs rather than given positive reinforcement of strengths on which they can build academically to their own benefit and to that of the institution.

Rather than just avoiding failure, all students, especially minority students, should be able to strive for success. This approach will make it possible to preserve the twin goals of access and quality. This is the approach that has been taken by historically black colleges like Spelman for years. It is the approach taken by the College Board's Project Equality, which emphasizes better high school preparation and extensive school-college collaboration.

Can we achieve quality and equality, and access and achievement simultaneously? Perhaps this is the wrong question. Whether we can is irrelevant; we simply must try to make it happen and not give up. Conferences like this fill me with hope, as well as some trepidation, because it is only through testing one another's ideas, and exchanging thoughtful proposals, working hard and totally involving ourselves in the intellectual process as my new colleague, Philip Uri Treisman, has discovered, can we make a difference. The full court press is on. Black, white, brown together. If not us, who? If not now, when? Let's get on with it.

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FINANCIAL AID AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

Jacob O. Stampen and Robert H. Fenske

There is evidence suggesting that political initiatives of the 1960s and 1970s succeeded in increasing enrollment rates for minority groups in higher education. For example, Astin (1982) analyzing data compiled for the Commission on the Higher Education of Minorities, found that minority involvement in higher education increased sharply after the initiation of the federal student aid programs. Preer (1981) summarizing studies based on federal data found the same pattern. Green (1982) also concluded that federal efforts, including financial aid programs, were responsible for much of the increase since the mid-1960s in enrollment of minority students into public colleges.

Overall, minority enrollment rates rose sharply following the War on Poverty initiatives from a deficit of 20 percent in 1966 to a surplus of 4 percent in 1974. Enrollment rates remained roughly at parity until 1978. Minority representation among entering college freshman increased by 50 to 100 percent from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s (Astin 1982). Black and Hispanic enrollment increased, especially at the undergraduate level, both in absolute numbers and in proportion to total enrollment. Most data sources report large enrollment gains in the 1974 to 1976 period (Preer 1981).

In the late 1970s minority enrollment rates plummeted to near mid-1960s levels. This decline roughly corresponds with the blurring of the purpose of student aid, that of aiding low-income students during the latter half of the 1970s. Despite the declining enrollment rates, between 1976 and 1984 minority enrollment continued to rise faster than white enrollment (respectively 12.6 percent and 5.7 percent). Even as late as 1981 and 1983, minorities accounted for approximately one third of all need-based student aid recipients (Stampen 1983, 1985). Astin (1982) found that minority groups were increasingly underrepresented at each higher transition point in the system, (e.g., from high school to community college or from community college to university).

Differences Among Minority Groups

The full story of minority attendance rates is not reflected in overall enrollment rates. Table 1 shows undergraduate enrollment growth for blacks, Hispanics, Asians, American Indians and whites between 1976 and 1984. Undergraduate enrollment by students of Asian decent increased 14 times faster than whites. Hispanic enrollments grew 4 times faster. But despite this, Hispanic students were underrepresented in relation to their share of the total population, and the percentage of Hispanic 18- to 24-year olds enrolled in college actually declined from 23 percent in 1976 to 20 percent in 1984.[1] American Indian enrollment increased at a slightly slower rate than white enrollment, and enrollment by blacks actually declined proportionately and absolutely (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1987).

Table 1

Undergraduate Enrollment in Higher Education
by Race and Ethnicity: 1976, 1980, 1984
(in thousands)

	All Students	White	Asian**	Blacks	Hispanic	Native* American
Fall 1976	8,432	6,900	153	865	324	61
Fall 1980	9,263	7,466	215	932	390	69
Fall 1984	9,063	7,294	285	831	399	64
Percentage Change						
1976-1980	10	8	41	8	20	13
1980-1984	-2	-2	33	-11	2	-7
1976-1984	8	6	86	-4	23	5

*Includes Alaskan Natives and American Indians.
**Includes Pacific Islanders.

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[1] Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Current Population Reports, "Educational Attainment in the United States," Series P-20.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, "Fall Enrollment in Colleges and Universities," Surveys: 1976, 1980, 1984.

Similar differences in the enrollment patterns of the various groups also occurred at graduate and professional education levels. The enrollment patterns described by Astin and Preer, who analyzed data from the late 1970s, remain essentially accurate today.

Fields of Study

The issue of access concerns not only where minority students study but what they study. Astin (1982) summarizes some major patterns. Minority underrepresentation occurs most severely at all levels in engineering, the biological sciences, the physical sciences, and mathematics. This underrepresentation is thought to originate partly at the precollegiate level because of inadequate academic preparation among minority groups.

Preer's analysis showed that major shifts in fields of study occurred at the undergraduate level, mostly among blacks. Census figures indicate that between 1966 to 1978 the proportion of undergraduate blacks studying education or social science subjects dropped, and those studying business rose. Hispanics are represented in the fields of business, education, and English in the same proportion as all students. But, like blacks, Hispanics were underrepresented in science and engineering fields. Asian Americans and American Indians were proportionately represented in the sciences (Preer 1981).

The U.S. Office of Civil Rights data (American Council on Education 1981-1986) indicates that at the undergraduate level, blacks, Hispanics and American Indians earned degrees in education and social sciences at higher rates than whites, but at lower rates in engineering and the physical sciences. Asians, by contrast, earned bachelor's degrees in education at less than half the rate of any other group, and earned degrees in engineering at more than twice the rate of other groups.

Graduate and Professional Study

Although nearly all aid is directed to undergraduates, graduate and professional enrollments are also of interest. Astin and Preer present slightly differing pictures. Astin (1982) found that minority groups have approximately similar attendance rates in graduate schools as whites. However, blacks, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and Hispanics have higher dropout rates in both graduate and professional schools. Shifts in fields of study at the undergraduate level were not reflected in educational attainment at the graduate level.

Preer (1981) found that the distribution of doctorates in 1978-79 showed blacks and Hispanics participating at a rate lower than their proportion in the total population. The picture for professional studies indicates declines rather than gains. Efforts to increase enrollment in professional schools seemed successful at first but peaked in 1971.

The U. S. Office of Civil Rights (American Council on Education 1981-1986) data show similar trends at the graduate level as the undergraduate level. The sharpest contrasts appeared in the percentages of degrees earned in education versus engineering. For example, 49 percent of all black Ph.D. degrees in 1981 were in education, compared to 12 percent for Asians and 25 percent for whites. The pattern reversed in engineering. The ratios for Ph.D's in engineering in 1981 were: two percent for blacks, 22 percent for Asians and 75 percent for whites. Taking law and medicine as examples of professional fields, the data showed most groups earning law degrees at comparable rates. Asians showed a strong underrepresentation in law, but made the greatest gains between 1975-1981. There were no great disparities in earned degrees between ethnic groups in medicine.

Student Aid and Academic Performance

Except for Asians, higher education enrollment rates proportional to minority and nonminority shares of the high school graduate population have not been sustained. An already alluded to explanation is that minority enrollments increase when initiatives such as student financial aid are growing and reinforced by broad based political mandates, but decline when public attention turns to other issues. Astin (1982), Preer (1981), and Green (1982) focusing mainly on the period when minority enrollment rates were increasing, support this interpretation when they suggest that student financial aid was a major contributing factor. A recent study by Hansen and Stampen (1987) indicates that declining investment in student financial aid corresponded with declining minority attendance rates.[2] MKinority enrollment began to decline in the latter 1970s when loans, which Astin (1982) argues are harmful to minority persistence, superceded grants as the predominant form of student aid. Thus, there is plausible evidence that minorities made impressive gains from the mid-1960s through the mid-1970s because student aid was growing and mainly composed of grants. However, by the 1980s the gains had turned into losses as student aid became less tailored to the needs of low-income students and ultimately declined in purchasing power.

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[2] Changes in student financial aid were measured as a percentage of Gross National Product per Member of the Civilian Labor Force.

Increases in Asian student enrollments pose a problem for the above argument. In other words, although the enrollment rates of three out of the four minority groups declined (Carnegie Foundation 1987), the fact that Asian enrollments continued to soar despite declines in student financial aid suggests another interpretation, namely that differences among the various ethnic groups are involved. The nature of these differences is suggested in the previous discussion of minority group attendance patterns, specifically, their varying pursuit of fields of study and the extent of their enrollment in postgraduate and professional programs. Here we see sharp differences between the Asians and the other three groups. Asians typically enroll in four-year colleges, easily gain admission to highly restrictive science and mathematics majors, and routinely pursue postgraduate education.

Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians, on the other hand, mainly enroll in less competitive two-year institutions, and when enrolled in four-year colleges they typically select majors which have less demanding entrance requirements. These choices also are related to minorities' low level of mathematic ability and increased mathematics requirements for most academic programs (Whiteley 1987). Members of the latter groups also are less likely to pursue graduate education. In other words, the academic performance of Asians and the three ethnic groups experiencing declining enrollment rates indicate different cultural attitudes toward higher education and different degrees of preparation for success in college. These differences also suggest that blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians would be more vulnerable than Asians to increases in academic standards. College entrance requirements and grading practices did in fact tighten in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and these changes occurred about the same time that minority enrollment rates declined. Thus, we have another plausible explanation, namely, that rising academic standards, rather than student aid, accounts for the recent net decline in minority enrollment.

These explanations and the possible interaction between them, suggest that we should look for answers in studies investigating the combined effects of economic and noneconomic variables on enrollment and persistence in college. What empirical evidence is there that student financial aid and academic performance affects the access and persistence of low-income and minority students?

Effects of Student Aid on Low Income and Minority Students

Research specific to student financial aid is of limited use in answering the above question because (for the most part) it either simply describes administrative procedures and problems (Davis and Van Dusen 1978; Fenske and Huff 1983) or investigates student aid without encompassing economic and nondefined variables. In fact, most studies on the effects of student aid are limited to comparing the effects of one form of aid with another. For example, Astin's (1975) research, which concludes that grants and work-study awards benefit low-income and minority students and that loans do not, lacks a defined contextual basis for interpreting these results. Neither does it demonstrate that students who receive grants or loans when they enter college retain the same form of aid over time. Thus, we do not know whether the relative benefits of grants over loans stem from the economic or noneconomic characteristics of recipient students.

This is not to say that Astin's conclusions are wrong. Nor are the guidelines and needs analysis systems (e.g., the Pell and the Uniform Methodology systems), which established aid distribution policies consistent with his findings, misguided (Cartter 1971; Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education 1979; National Association of College and University Business Officers 1981). It is simply that limited comparisons cannot establish the effects of various forms of aid because studies of this type rarely include a conceptual framework for interpreting what to expect from student aid (Hansen 1984).

There are several reasons for slow progress in evaluating the effects of student aid. First, until recently (Hodgkinson and Thrift 1983; Stampen 1983, 1985; Wilms 1983) there was an absence of data bases capable of describing the distribution and packaging of student aid, even though most aid recipients have long been known to receive aid from a variety of grant, loan, and work-study programs.[3] Second, because of the lack of comprehensive descriptive data, it was difficult to develop student classification structures differentiating among students who received need-based and merit aid or even to identify similarities and differences between aided and nonaided students. Thus, it was never established that need-based aid recipients do in fact come from lower income families than nonaided students, or whether the population of aid recipients and aid distribution patterns were consistent over time. A third major obstacle, stemming in part from the lack of adequate descriptive information, was the near absence of theoretical foundations for assessing the relative effects of student aid and other economic and noneconomic variables known to affect enrollment and persistence in college. Overcoming this obstacle requires predictive theoretical models, longitudinal data reflecting variables within the models, and accurate classification of students and aid distribution patterns. These problems collectively explain the lack of behavioral evidence supporting attainment of the goals of student aid policy, and assessment of the effects of student aid on minorities.

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[3] From the annual reports of agencies responsible for administering individual student aid programs, we know the costs of the programs and the characteristics of recipients in particular programs. These reports also show considerable variation in the extent to which individual programs target aid on the lowest income students (Stampen, 1984). This has caused concern among those who expect all forms of aid to be primarily directed to low income students. We know much less about people who fall in between and thus whether aid recipients differ substantially from middle class students. The absence of sharp definitions was aggravated by inadequate information about differences in the incomes of aided and nonaided students and, even more specifically, about differences in the incomes of students who qualify for aid according to various needs analysis and nonneed-based categorical standards. Another unknown was whether the aid was packaged (i.e., the extent and types of multiple recipiency). For example, from governmental records we knew how many students received Pell Grants or Guaranteed Student Loans (GSL), but little was known about packaging patterns either for a single time period or over time.

In the next section of this paper we discuss the results of several recent efforts at the University of Wisconsin - Madison and elsewhere to fill in some of the missing information.

Equity in Targeting and Packaging

There is little information about how aid is combined or "packaged" to assist individual students. Despite high levels of expenditure for student aid, the federal government, the states, and most colleges and universities have never developed a basis for determining whether single forms of aid (e.g., grants, loans, or work-study) are distributed alone or in combination in a consistent manner, and whether recipients remain distinctly different from nonaided students during years in college. Except for the public data base developed at the University of Wisconsin (Stampen 1983, 1985) and parallel data bases for the private (Hodgkinson and Thrift, 1983, 1985) and proprietary (Wilms 1983) sectors, there were no previous data bases capable of producing unduplicated counts of students receiving aid from several programs. Separately administered federal student aid programs have maintained data on recipients, but these cannot be used to explore the overall flow of aid. In order for aid to be effective, it should conform to expectations for targeting. That is, students with similar incomes and similar circumstances should be treated similarly. There should also be longitudinal stability in the flow of grants to lower income recipients and loans to higher income aid recipients.

The following findings are based on a national sample of students attending public two- and four-year colleges and universities, a statewide longitudinal sample of aided and nonaided students attending public four-year colleges and four state student resource and expenditure surveys.

Student aid is targeted on low-income students. During the first half of the 1980s family incomes of dependent, need-based aid recipients were roughly half those of nonaided dependent students. Thus, there is evidence that need-based aid recipients were economically disadvantaged compared to nonrecipients. The incomes of independent students also were very low compared to college costs. Low income was the only distinguishing difference between aided and nonaided students. For example, grade point averages were roughly the same as was the propensity to work while attending college. In fact, roughly 8 out of 10 students worked during the summer months and nearly half worked during the school year (Stampen and Fenske 1984).

Average amounts of aid for individual students were similar among all aid recipients. However, those with the lowest incomes were more likely to receive grants than loans; the opposite was true for aid recipients with higher incomes. Also, the odds of being eligible to receive aid declined sharply as incomes increased. Thus, there is evidence that the distribution of aid generally conforms with established guidelines for the equitable distribution of student aid (Stampen 1983,1985). Packaging patterns also conformed with targeting standards. Furthermore, there was a high degree of consistency and stability over time in the packaging of various forms and combinations of aid and there was relatively little movement in and out of the ranks of aid recipients over time (Stampen and Cabrera, in press).

Between 1981 and 1983 roughly one-third of all need-based aid recipients were minorities. However, the number of minority recipients attending public colleges and universities declined by 11 percent while nonminority recipients increased 6 percent and Asians increased 51 percent. The overall decline in minority recipients was accounted for by declines among Hispanics (-29 percent), blacks (-14 percent) and American Indians (-13 percent). Increases among whites and Asians resulted from rapid growth in numbers of older independent students (Asians +64 percent, whites +25 percent) (Stampen 1983, 1985). This continues a trend which began in 1972 when only 14 percent of Pell grant recipients were independent students. By 1980 roughly half were independent students (Hansen, Reeves, and Stampen, in press). However, controlling for type and level of institutions there was no evidence that minority students received less aid than nonminority students or were inequitably treated. In fact, minorities were slightly favored in the actual distribution of aid (Young 1986). Individual ethnic groups also differed in their propensity to borrow. Blacks, Hispanics and American Indians borrowed considerably less than whites and Asians (Stampen 1985).

Minorities are not disadvantaged in terms of types and amounts of aid received, and similar percentages of minority and nonminority aid recipients work to meet college expenses during the academic year. However, minorities tend to have fewer total financial resources than nonminorities because they earn less. Minority students are less likely than nonminorities to hold jobs outside the student aid system. Instead, they tend to hold college work-study jobs where earnings are limited by needs analysis based estimates of amounts of aid needed to meet college expenses. This often results in shortfalls in total resources for minority students, whereas nonminorities, who typically work outside the student aid system, tend to have surplus resources after subtracting college costs (Stampen, Reeves, and Hansen, in press).

Effects of Student Aid and Other Variables on Access

There is very little empirical evidence describing the relative magnitude of economic and noneconomic barriers to college attendance. In fact, no previous study of factors affecting higher education enrollment and persistence, let alone the specific effects of student financial aid, has sought to test any theory encompassing economic and noneconomic variables affecting access or persistence in college. However, several studies have explored associations between student aid and/or other financial and noneconomic variables and these generally demonstrate that both factors influence minority students' decisions to enroll in college.

Jackson (1978), for example, in a study estimating that an award of financial aid increases the likelihood that an applicant will enroll by approximately 8.5 percent cautions that a host of other economic and noneconomic variables are capable of lessening or increasing this estimate. A similarly qualified study on the relationship between student aid and college persistence, Terkla (1984) concluded that receipt of financial assistance influences the decision to remain in college. Among the numerous variables included in her study, financial aid was found to have the third strongest direct effect on persistence. Jackson and Terkla also included such nonmonetary factors as socioeconomic status and ethnic background in their enrollment estimates, but did not include ethnicity.

Other studies suggest that minority groups differ in terms of commitment to enroll and obtain an academic degree. These findings are consistent with studies arguing that fundamental decisions regarding educational aspirations tend to be made early in the high school years at which time they are mainly influenced by noneconomic factors (Henry 1980; Murphy 1981). the timing of decisions about college attendance might explain recent findings that student aid has not substantially altered the ethnic composition of higher education enrollment. Hansen (1982), for example, concluded that increases in student financial aid during the 1970s did not alter the postsecondary enrollment rates of high school seniors. Although the Hansen study was criticized at the time it was written, others have since reached similar conclusions (Lee, Rotermund, and Bertschman 1985). Although existing studies do not predict how minority students react to economic incentives, they do make us more aware of the importance of certain noneconomic variables. Young (1986), for example, found that ethnicity was a more powerful determinant of enrollment than student aid.

Effects of Student Aid and Other Variables on Persistence

Finances is only one of many variables affecting persistence (Pentages and Creedon 1978; Tinto 1975) and the effects of various forms of aid differ. For example, two studies (Astin 1975; Astin and Cross 1979) found that grants and work-study awards produced higher persistence rates than loans, especially when these various forms of aid were given to low-income and minority students. Another study (Voorhees 1985) found positive effects from all forms of aid, including loans, but did not identify the effects on minority students. Three others (Iwai and Churchill 1982; Jensen 1981; Terkla 1984) found beneficial effects in general as defined by a variety of outcome measures.

Unfortunately, none of the studies, except Jensen's (1981) study of a single institution, compared relevant groups of aided and nonaided students. Instead, persistence (or attrition) rates of recipients of various forms of aid were compared with one another, or aid recipient rates were compared with institutional averages. Thus, it remained unclear whether the persistence rates for aid recipients should be the same or different from those of students who did not receive aid. Neither did these studies establish whether students who receive aid on the basis of demonstrated financial need, retain the same forms of aid over time. Comparisons would be meaningless, for example, if virtually all students received aid at one time or another.

The recent Wisconsin studies sought to correct data related problems in earlier studies and to establish a basis for estimating the effects of student aid. Thus, after first developing and exploring descriptive data on aid recipients and aid distribution patterns, a representative sample of beginning freshmen enrolling in 1979 at 14 universities belonging to a state university system was tracked through three successive years of undergraduate education. The data base, which contained both aided and nonaided students, also included an array of economic and noneconomic variables. Markov chains were used to determine whether the aid recipient population was stable over time, and whether students who receive aid in one year also tend to receive aid in the same forms the next. The aid recipient population was found to be quite stable over time, and need-based aid was essentially restricted to low-income students (Stampen and Cabrera, in press).

Considerable variation was found in the distribution of aid over time. Rarely did students receive aid in exactly the same form from one year to the next. However, students who initially received grants tended to receive grants combined with other forms of aid the following year. Also, initial loan recipients tended to retain loans throughout all three years. In other words, there were consistent differences between the grant and loan recipient populations (Stampen and Cabrera, in press).

In a follow-up study using the same longitudinal data, logit analysis was used to investigate interactions among student aid and several noneconomic variables (academic performance in high school, age, ethnicity, and gender). The findings of the preceding study also were used to develop a basis for judging whether student aid succeeds in eliminating financial reasons for dropping out of college. Since the lack of financial resources represented only one of several variables known to affect persistence and since the only identifiable difference between aided and nonaided students was income, then student aid should compensate for the disadvantage of low income and produce a comparable persistence rate.

In fact there was no statistically significant difference between the persistence rates of aided and nonaided students. Thus, student aid was judged effective in eliminating financial reasons for dropping out. However, another equally important finding was that among all the variables tested, academic performance in high school emerged as the single most powerful predictor of persistence. In fact, lower quartile students were consistently less likely to persist than students in the next highest quartile during each of three successive years. The next most powerful predictor of persistence was ethnic background. Here, whites and Asians were more than twice as likely to stay in school as blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians. Previous findings concerning differences among these groups in patterns of enrollment, choices of academic majors, and test scores strongly suggest overlaps between academic performance and ethnicity. For example, Baum (1986) in an econometric study examining associations among enrollment, persistence, student aid, and test scores found patterns similar to those described in the Stampen and Cabrera (1986) study. The researchers also found important differences in the persistence rates of traditional college age students and older students, and that women were more likely than males to drop out after the first year. However, gender differences disappeared in later years.

The patterns from these studies suggest that even if financial barriers are eliminated others remain which for the most part exceed the reach of governmental solutions at the time an individual reaches the age of college attendance. The hurdles facing those lacking adequate academic preparation in elementary and secondary schools seem particularly formidable. For them the academic environment must indeed seem hostile. Prospects of receiving special consideration in the classroom are low because the system values competitive achievement. Accordingly, students lacking adequate academic preparation risk alienation from other students if they receive favored treatment, and faculty members risk censure from their peers if they reward effort on bases other than academic merit. Also, as the Stampen and Cabrera (1986) findings illustrate, it takes a long time to come from behind. Along the way many opportunities arise for motivation to falter and for alienation to develop between the student and the institution to the point where many students decide to leave before obtaining a degree.

Conclusion

Many of the categorical programs of President Johnson's War on Poverty of the 1960s were aimed directly at bringing racial minorities, especially blacks, on college campuses across the nation. These programs succeeded, and the curve of minority participation in higher education rose swiftly as many campuses that had rarely, if ever, enrolled a minority student found themselves establishing Black Studies Programs and Black Student Unions to accommodate the newcomers. The 1972 Amendments to the Higher Education Act of 1965 introduced need-based grants on a massive scale, and the curve of participation continued to rise, though at a slower pace. Then, in the late 1970s, the curve flattened and even started a slight descent as college costs outpaced the availability of student aid. Finally, in the 1980s, the Reagan Administration's decision to hold the line on student aid outlays combined with a number of negative factors to force the curve into a descent that is continuing into the late 1980s. The factors countering black, Hispanic, and American Indian participation in higher education in the 1980s include (1) the sharply accelerating rise in college costs, especially in tuition; (2) continuing inflation which, although lower than in the 1970s, combines with level funding to rob student aid of about one-fifth of its real purchasing power in the final half of the current decade; (3) the shift in aid dollars from predominantly grants to loans, a type of aid shunned by many minority students; and (4) a renewed emphasis on high academic quality which is expressed in high admission standards and mathematics requirements which minority students, many of whom are victims of a substandard and discriminatory school system, cannot hope to meet.

Richardson (1985), in a study tracing minority student experiences in urban community colleges and public universities, observes that four-year institutions altered their admission standards and academic performance expectations less than did the two-year institutions. Accordingly, minority students flocked to the two-year colleges expecting that enrollment would lead to better job opportunities, or a chance to make up for academic deficiencies so as to enable later transfers to four-year institutions. However, by the mid-1970s it became apparent that lowered academic standards and performance expectations were failing to produce large numbers of successful graduates and four-year college transfers. About this time, performance standards throughout higher education were raised and minority enrollment rates began to decline.

Minority enrollment rates plummeted in the early 1980s as the public became increasingly concerned about the nation's competitive position in the world. The resulting charge to all levels of education was to improve the quality of instruction and to produce highly skilled and educated workers. This turning away from concerns about access and equity was expressed by cuts in student aid as well as by higher entrance requirements and tougher grading policies. Support from states and private sources were not sufficient to finance desired improvements in quality. Consequently, institutions increasingly relied on tuition revenues, which by the mid-1980s had risen to their highest levels in at least 40 years.

Improvements in minority enrollment and persistence rates depend heavily on the success of current efforts to improve the quality of education at elementary and secondary education levels. While student financial aid has been effective in eliminating financial barriers to higher education, the prospect of such barriers reemerging is disturbing. The current mandate to improve quality could affect adversely the success experienced in removing financial barriers by raising costs to students faster than financial aid grants.

Fortunately, there is evidence that the recent net decline in student aid (i.e., tuition revenue minus student aid) has not yet fallen to levels prevailing in the mid- 1960s when efforts to improve access were initiated. Even though the student financial aid system has become large and complex, and over time heavily influenced by changing political priorities, it still limits aid to a minority of college students who are able to demonstrate financial need. However, there are signs of growing weakness in the system, which might add to difficulties faced by minority students with low incomes.

One problem stems from the rapid growth in the number of financially independent aid recipients (from 14 percent of Pell grant recipients in 1972 to roughly 50 percent in 1980), which may in part explain why aid awards have not kept pace with rising attendance costs. The problem is not that independent students are undeserving of aid, rather it is the large number of recipients who must share existing resources. The rapid growth in aid-eligible independent students may disadvantage black, Hispanic, and American Indian recipients who for the most part are recent high school graduates and financially dependent on their families. Furthermore, the tendency for aid to flow away from dependent students is likely to intensify because of recent changes which in effect create more aid-eligible students by eliminating the requirement that aid recipients demonstrate financial need after they enroll in graduate school or reach age 24, whichever occurs first.

Although most minority and nonminority aid recipients supplement grants and loans with earnings from part-time jobs, minorities mainly rely on earnings from college work-study jobs, giving rise to a second problem. Work-study jobs are subject to regulation by needs analysis formulas which set limits on maximum earnings. Nonminority recipients, on the other hand, tend to hold jobs in the community where earnings are not limited. As a consequence, minority recipients are much more likely than nonminorities to have shortfalls in total resources.

A third problem involves the extent to which loans have displaced grants as the predominant form of aid since the mid-70's. Research by Astin (1975) suggests that blacks and perhaps other ethnic minorities are discouraged from enrolling in college if it means accumulating debt. Lee, Rotermund, and Bertschman (1985) associate declining minority enrollment in the mid-1970s with the emergence of loans as the predominant form of aid. It is common knowledge among student aid officers that defaults on loans are mainly accounted for by students who drop out after accumulating relatively small amounts of debt (typically less than $3,000). Disproportionately high numbers of these defaulters are ethnic minority students enrolled in non-baccalaureate programs in proprietary schools. The puzzle of the effects of loans on specific ethnic minority groups awaits further research, preferably longitudinal studies controlling for income, academic ability, and other factors affecting college attendance. However, in the meantime there is no apparent reason for assuming that established policies targeting grants on low-income students are misguided, or that improvements in grants will not enhance minority attendance.

Acknowledgment

The authors acknowledge the valuable contributions of Michael E. Young. His approach to the literature review of this topic was used as a guide and resource in the development of this paper. The intellectual stimulus of W. Lee Hansen and Alberto F. Cabrero was most appreciated.

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MINORITY EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES:
MIXED AND QUALIFIED MESSAGES OF RECENT SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

Monique Weston Clague

> "We have recognized. . . that in order to remedy the effects of prior discrimination, it may be necessary to take race into account."

From the opinion of Justice Powell,
Wygant v.Jackson Board of Education (1986)

Those familiar with Justice Powell's opinion in Board of Regents v. Bakke will recognize a major difference in perspective in his statement quoted above.[1] In Bakke he tried to hew to an individualistic interpretation of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, and denied that a public educational institution may voluntarily initiate minority preferences in the name of affirmative action. In Wygant he endorsed group-based preferences as affirmative action remedies for past discrimination and agreed that a public educational institution may initiate them. In both cases, because Justice Powell supplied the swing vote on a divided Supreme Court, his opinion was designated the "judgment" although not the opinion of the Court.

Wygant is one of five Supreme Court cases decided in 1986 and 1987 that involved challenges by white public employees concerning preferential treatment for blacks, Hispanics, and

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[1] 438 U.S. 265 (1978).

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women.[2] The five are landmark cases in American law. For the first time a majority on the Supreme Court provided constitutional sanction for preferences that benefit minority races. In one case it provided sanction for gender (and race) preferences in public employment under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 -- the country's most important employment discrimination statute.

Such cases were welcomed as a victory by supporters of affirmative action. But the victory remains qualified, vulnerable, and, it is probably fair to say, primarily negative. Judicial support for differential treatment that benefits racial minorities was qualified by uncertain preconditions and limitations that can be subject to varying interpretations. The lack of precision on key points makes the decisions vulnerable to future restrictive interpretation on the part of a Supreme Court, whose composition is likely to be altered by new Reagan appointees, as well as by lower federal courts.

Support, furthermore, on a number of key issues was voiced in separate opinions, not through a coherent majority opinion. Multiple opinions on a variety of issues, concurring and dissenting, in whole and in part, make the task of interpreting the cases especially difficult. This untidy state of affairs is aggravated further by the fact that of five justices who changed their previous positions on key points, two (Justices Burger and Powell) are no longer on the Court.

The victory for affirmative action was also a limited one -- in the sense that the Court did not apply the brakes to more than a decade of lower court case law affirming and mandating minority preferences. Had the Court affirmed a color-blind view of the Constitution and statutes, it would have provided a pretext either for inaction or for challenges to a wide range of race-conscious policies that seek to move minorities toward a full equality that cannot be achieved by formal legal equality alone.

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[2] The cases are: Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education, 106 S. Ct. 1842 (1986); Local 28 of Sheet Metal Workers v. EEOC, 106 S. Ct. 3019 (1986); International Assn. of Firefighters v. City of Cleveland, 106 S. Ct. 3063 (1986); U.S. v. Paradise, 107 S. Ct. 1053 (1987); Johnson v. Transportation Agency, 107 S. Ct. 1442 (1987). Page citations to Johnson in this manuscript are to its publication in Volume 55 U.S.L.W.

For a detailed analysis of the employment implications of these cases, see my article: "The Affirmative Action Showdown of 1986: Implications for Higher Education, Vol. 14 The Journal of College and University Law (Fall 1987), pp. 171-257.

The Court can refuse to apply the brakes, but it cannot be the engine of accelerated, forward motion. That is the role and responsibility of public and private organizations, including the nation's colleges and universities. Whether these initiatives will be limited or undermined by future restrictive court decisions is still too early to determine.

The Showdown Over "First Principles"

All five of the 1986-87 cases involved a confrontation between those who adhere to an individualistic interpretation of the Constitution and statutes and those who argue that the Constitution and statutes must sometimes take account of group identity and social status.

The first position, aggressively championed by the Justice Department under the Reagan administration (and shared by former Supreme Court nominee, Robert Bork) is summed up by the following statement from one of the Justice Department's 1986 briefs in Wygant: "The Equal Protection Clause does not mention any of the characteristics that divide, such as race, religion, or national origin . . . . It seeks only 'person[s]'" (p. 7).

This race-blind and gender-blind conception of the Fourteenth Amendment would limit race or gender-based remedies to minority individuals who prove they have personally been victims of discrimination. In the language of the courts they are limited to "make whole" relief, which seeks to place identified victims of discrimination "in the situation that would have existed had the discrimination not occurred." Labeled the "theory of victim-specificity" this individualistic interpretation of the Constitution (and civil rights statutes) underpinned the administration's assault on affirmative action plans that provide for varying degrees of race preference. It also buttressed the Justice Department's effort to eliminate the goals and timetable provisions from Executive Order 11,246, the most important federal regulation governing affirmative action plans in postsecondary education.

The counter position, championed by many organizations in the loose coalition of the civil rights movement, challenges the slow and costly pace of individual ascent through victim-specific litigation. It argues that the systemic, self-perpetuating inegalitarian consequences of slavery and hostile discrimination -- of caste and class -- require group-oriented as well as individually oriented remedies. Remedy, for advocates of preferential affirmative action, does not signify redress for a legal wrong to an identified individual in the "victim-specific" and conventional legal sense of the word. The "purpose of affirmative action," in the words of Justice Brennan, "is not to make identified victims whole, but rather to dismantle prior patterns of . . . discrimination and to prevent discrimination in the future" (Sheet Metal Workers, p. 3049).

What is at stake, of course, is far more than a clash of abstract moral and legal perspectives. For those who ponder our growing educational and social stratification by race -- as the proportion of minorities increases -- there is a sense of urgency. The vitality and stability of the nation depends on efforts to increase the educational achievement of our racial minorities. This was one of the high stakes in the confrontation over the nomination of Judge Bork.

The Reagan administration unquestionably lost "the critical showdown" it had sought. At the level of conflicting "first principle[s]" (as expressed in the Justice Department brief in Wygant, p. 28), the administration's uncompromising individual rights position lost to the race- and gender-conscious, group-based perspectives of defenders of affirmative action preferences. In every one of the five cases the Supreme Court concluded that sometimes the Constitution and statutes may "see" the color of a person's skin. In one case a majority also concluded, for the first time, that sometimes Title VII may "consider" a person's gender.

The Employment-Education Link

Although all the cases focused on employment opportunities, and only one involved an educational institution, they also are critical to the lawfulness of race-conscious programs and strategies designed to improve the educational opportunities for members of minority races. Federal and state courts repeatedly have cross-referenced employment opportunity and educational opportunity cases.

Moreover, employment in educational institutions and minority educational opportunities are linked. A number of researchers on minority education, as well as representatives of postsecondary institutions and organizations stress the positive relationship between the presence of minority faculty and minority access and achievement in postsecondary education. Arguments supporting the increased presence of minority race faculty at predominantly white universities emphasize the need for minority role models and mentors for minority students (Blackwell) and for evidence of a "comfortability factor" (Richardson et al., Change). Israel Tribble, Executive Director of the Florida Endowment Fund for Higher Education,[3] envisions the increase in the number of minority faculty, rather than mandated structural changes, as the most promising strategy for bringing about the integration of higher education: "The faculty is the epicenter of the university . . . . The way to most effectively desegregate higher education is to produce as many Black and other minority Ph.D.'s as possible in the basic disciplines." Representatives of traditionally black colleges and universities, furthermore, stress the importance of black faculty to the preservation of their institution's racial identity.

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[3] Formerly the McKnight Programs in Higher Education.

In 1979 the Supreme Court affirmed the lawfulness under Title VII[4] of minority race preferences for job training and hiring in private employment. But for the next seven years it did not extend this ruling in Steel Workers v. Weber to the public sector. The Court's 1978 decision in Bakke, which lacked a majority opinion, supported the consideration of race in admissions, but not on an affirmative action theory. It is only with the 1986 decision in Wygant that a majority of the Supreme Court (and it seems a unanimous Court), agreed for the first time, that a state actor may sometimes initiate minority race hiring preferences.

The Cases: A Preliminary Overview

To provide a foundation for a discussion of the implications of the Court's recent decisions for minority educational opportunities and some related employment issues, this section summarizes the highlights of the five affirmative action cases.

Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education

Wygant involved a white, public school teachers' successful challenge of a minority retention layoff provision in their school district's collective bargaining agreement. Although a majority of the justices, but not through a majority opinion, agreed that the particular layoff clause discriminated against the white teachers in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, all nine justices also agreed that a public school system may voluntarily initiate preferential hiring goals designed to remedy its own past discrimination. It was the Court's simultaneous rejection of the affirmative action layoff plan and its endorsement of affirmative action hiring goals that produced conflicting newspaper headlines.

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[4] The language of Title VII provides in part that it "shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer -- (1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin."

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Sheet Metal Workers v. EEOC

Sheet Metal Workers dealt a definitive blow to the administration's interpretation of the remedial authority of the courts under Title VII. It upheld a lower court order mandating a nonwhite union membership goal and an Employment, Training, Education and Recruitment Fund to be used to increase minority membership in the sheet metal workers union and its apprenticeship program. This court-ordered remedy targeted the union's judicially determined, "long and persistent pattern of discrimination," but it was not limited, as the Justice Department argued it should be, to "make whole," victim-specific relief. The beneficiaries of the fund and union membership were not personally identified victims of discrimination.

International Ass'n of Firefighters v. City of Cleveland

The most significant aspect of Firefighters was the Court's treatment of a consent decree, under both Title VII and the Fourteenth Amendment, as a voluntary agreement, albeit a judicially enforceable one, rather than as a coercive court order. The significance of this legal hybrid (part contract, part court order) is that institutions may agree to settlements of lawsuits that provide students and employees remedies for minority underrepresentation that a court would not have the authority to order. Under the Constitution, the authority of the courts to mandate affirmative action preferences is limited by the requirement that a constitutional violation be found. This means proven intentional discrimination against racial minorities by public institutions. Under Title VII the authority of the courts to decree race-conscious affirmative action for nonvictims (in both public and private settings) is similarly limited. In Sheet Metal Workers v. EEOC, the Supreme Court held, courts may, in exceptional cases, exceed the limits of victim-specific, "make whole" remedies. This is only when a court order to cease discrimination proves useless against "particularly longstanding or egregious discrimination," or "its lingering effects."

These limiting preconditions to court-ordered remedies do not apply to voluntary actions, however. Thus, because the Court classified consent decrees with voluntary agreements, academic institutions, public and private, may negotiate race-conscious settlements to 14th Amendment and Title VII suits without conceding either a constitutional violation or "egregious discrimination."

U.S. v. Paradise

Although Firefighters held that affirmative action in promotions could benefit minority individuals who are not actual victims of discrimination, it did not decide whether the particular race-conscious promotion plan provided for in the consent decree was lawful. Subsequently in 1987, in Paradise, five justices upheld the constitutionality of a court-ordered plan providing, on a temporary basis, for the promotion of equal numbers of qualified white and black state troopers. As in Sheet Metal Workers, the lower courts reacted to "egregiously discriminatory conduct" in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. This demanding precondition to court-ordered, race-conscious promotions under the Constitution does not apply to voluntary public sector initiatives. However, a promotion plan of such numerical precision is probably beyond the lawful authority of a public employer.

Johnson v. Transportation Agency of Santa Clara

What a public employer must show to justify the voluntary adoption of some kind of affirmative action racial preference was one of the two critical questions posed in Johnson, the last of the five affirmative action cases.

In Wygant all nine justices agreed that the Constitution permits a public employer to initiate limited hiring preferences to correct the consequences of its own prior or continuing discrimination. A majority did not agree, however, upon the quantity, nature or timing of evidence of past discrimination that a public employer must have to justify its hiring preferences under the Equal Protection Clause.

Unforeseen, and in stunning disregard of Wygant, the Johnson majority held that a public, like a private employer "seeking to justify the adoption of a plan (under Title VII) need not point to its own prior discriminatory practices, nor even to an 'arguable violation' on its part." It need only point to a "manifest imbalance" between the number of women and minorities hired into a "traditionally segregated job category" and the number of women or minorities with the relevant qualifications. The majority did not clearly define the terms "manifest imbalance" or "traditionally segregated job category." However large the imbalances must be to justify preferential hiring or promotion in other settings, the imbalance in the craft positions in the Santa Clara Transportation Agency hit, as Justice O'Connor put it (citing a previous Supreme Court case), "the inexorable zero" (p. 4390). Of 238 craft positions, none were held by women. Thus the Johnson majority upheld the promotion of Diane Joyce over a marginally "more qualified" man to a "job category" in which no women had ever been employed.

Between Wygant and Johnson, the Court seemed to introduce a troubling contradiction between the constitutional and a statutory precondition for affirmative action. In Wygant the Justices debated how much evidence of discrimination is required to justify preferential hiring under the Equal Protection Clause. No one, despite the lack of majority consensus, argued that mere statistical imbalance sufficed. In Johnson a majority agreed that evidence of past or continuing discrimination is not required by Title VII. No attempt was made to reconcile Wygant's emphasis on evidence of past employer discrimination in a constitutional case with Johnson's acceptance of some undefined degree of "statistical imbalance" in a Title VII case.

For private colleges and universities, which are not subject to constitutional limitations, the distinction is not important. These institutions can look to Title VII alone. But for public institutions, the distinction is important. The logical implication of the Court's decisions is that a public college or university must make a stronger -- past discrimination -- justification for preferences if the 14th Amendment forms the basis of a "reverse discrimination" suit, than if Title VII forms the basis of such a suit. This is one reason why future interpretations of Johnson are unpredictable. The Constitution is supreme. A statute cannot authorize what the Constitution forbids. Yet Johnson appears to contradict this bedrock principle of the legal hierarchy.

The following sections of this paper attempt a necessarily tentative assessment of the implications of the Court's decisions for minority educational opportunities. The focus is primarily on higher education in traditionally white, public institutions.

The focus on traditionally white institutions is explained by the fact that the Supreme Court has never addressed the role of traditionally black institutions, public or private. Consequently it has obviously not addressed the issue of institutional diversity along racial lines in postsecondary education, as it has in elementary and secondary education. Nor, obviously, has it considered the argument made on behalf of predominantly black colleges and universities, that these institutions offer a choice of personal and cultural identity to individuals who are no longer subject to compulsory attendance laws.

The primary, but not exclusive emphasis on public institutions is explained in part by the fact that the affirmative action cases of 1986-1987 all dealt with the public sector. Additionally, most of the difficult questions regarding the lawfulness of affirmative action preferences seek to answer the question whether the latitude allowed to private institutions, as well as the limits imposed on them, also extend to public institutions. The discussion therefore considers public and private sector cases and their implications.

Implications for Minority Educational Opportunities

The "May," the "Must Not," and the "Must"

Courts concern themselves with three basic behavioral categories -- what is permitted by law; what is forbidden by law; and what is mandated by law. This paper concentrates on what may and what must not be done in the name of affirmative action. The most important ones for the purpose of this conference, which is to discuss voluntary initiatives (rather than what courts decree) that promise the greatest success in increasing the college-going and baccalaureate completion rates of minority students.

An assessment of what recent court cases decided may be done, or what can be inferred that may enhance minority educational opportunities also involves consideration of the lawful limits of race-conscious initiatives. The "must nots" delimit the boundaries of what voluntary initiatives may be taken.

Answers to the three categories of questions depend in turn on two further, interrelated issues. They are dependent first on several legally relevant characteristics of institutions initiating affirmative action: a) their public or private character, b) their racial identity, and c) their racial histories -- that is, whether or not they have been guilty of past racial discrimination. Second, answers to the "may," "the must not," and "the must," for each kind of institution depend in turn on the justifying theories (presented as legal arguments) invoked in support of race-conscious strategies to increase minority participation in postsecondary education.

What May be Done: Beyond a "Reverse Discrimination" Challenge

There are many strategies. Perhaps some of the most effective ones are aimed at enhancing minority educational opportunities without risking legal challenge under the Equal Protection Clause or antidiscrimination statutes: dropout prevention programs for "at risk" students; incentive scholarship programs guaranteeing college tuition on the basis of need, or first generation college attendance; curricular and instructional strategies aimed at closing the "preparation gap" between high achieving and low achieving students; minority recruitment efforts; privately endowed scholarships for minority students; motivational, preparatory, and support initiatives for students in inner city schools, such as Eugene Lang's philanthropy-based "I Have A Dream" programs; the foundation-supported New Access

Routes to Professional Careers of the American Federation of Negro Affairs (AFNA); the McKnight Programs' Centers of Excellence, which draw on the resources of the black church and community to address the motivation and preparation of Florida's black children, as well as their access to and retention in school.

Initiatives targeted on low-income and educationally deprived students without regard to race, and on students in racially isolated schools, or privately funded initiatives that work to expand the educational development of minority race students do not involve state conferred benefits on one race at the expense of another. Challenges to affirmative action arise only when race-conscious (or gender-conscious) initiatives entail preferences in training, hiring, promotions, layoffs, and admissions, which burden white men or women or white children who also suffer from educational deficits.

Traditionally White Institutions: Remedying the Consequences of Past Institutional and System-Wide Discrimination

The first lower court decision to rely on the Court's three 1986 decisions (Wygant, Firefighters, and Sheet Metal Workers) was one of enormous significance for minority education and the preparation of minority faculty -- the Sixth Circuit's September 1986 decision in Geier v. Alexander.[5] Because it was not appealed, it finally settled the protracted desegregation litigation against Tennessee's state system of higher education. It provides the most recent judicial statement about the constitutionality of academic support programs and admissions for minority students in formerly segregated public institutions.

1. The background to Geier. Among the postsecondary desegregation cases Geier was a maverick. It was not part of the Adams litigation -- the "wholesale" suit directed at the U.S. Department of Education's failure to enforce Title VI against 19 other state systems of higher education. Beginning in 1968 the Geier plaintiffs, then supported by the United States as plaintiff-intervenor, sued the state of Tennessee directly under the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment.

   The U.S. Supreme Court has never squarely dealt with the question whether state systems of higher education are under the same affirmative constitutional duty to integrate as are public elementary and secondary schools, albeit through a choice of different means. In 1969 and 1971 it affirmed two contradictory lower court decisions, one of which rejected the notion of an affirmative duty in postsecondary education, the other endorsing it.

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[5] 593 F. Supp. 1263 (1984); aff'd, 801 F 2d 799 (6th Cir. 1986).

In Geier, the lower courts both held unequivocally that state systems of postsecondary education are bound by an affirmative duty to integrate. As with elementary and secondary education, they concluded, if facially neutral freedom of choice does not lead to meaningful integration in postsecondary education then states have a duty to devise remedies that do. And if the states fail this affirmative duty, courts are empowered to order various integration measures.

Over the course of this litigation, which spanned a decade and a half, the lower courts did mandate desegregation remedies. But their decrees, including the extraordinary order requiring the merger of white University of Tennessee (UT-N) with black Tennessee State University (TSU) failed to produce the intended integration of students, faculty, or staff. Thus in 1981 the Geier plaintiffs -- this time without the support of the United States -- moved for further measures ultimately culminating in a consent decree. This decree provides that one of its purposes is the "maximization of educational opportunities for black citizens" (p.2).

2. The preprofessional program. Among the decree's many race-conscious provisions is a preprofessional preparatory program for black students that provides counseling, curriculum planning, a special summer program, and an edge in competing for admission to Tennessee professional schools.

Beginning in 1985, for a total of five years, 75 black college sophomores are selected to participate. Most desegregation plans in the Adams states set goals, qua targets, for minority graduate education and minority graduate support programs and they premise access on the decentralized admissions decisions of each department and professional school. Under the Tennessee plan, however, the State agreed to reserve, in advance, places in the schools of veterinary medicine, pharmacy, dentistry and medicine for those students in the program who successfully complete the preprofessional undergraduate program and meet the minimum admissions standards of the professional schools.

3. The Justice Department's challenge. Speaking on behalf of the United States government, the Justice Department threw own the gauntlet. In 1984, two years before the Supreme Court's three affirmative action decisions of 1986, it entered a Memorandum opposing the proposed settlement. Equating a consent decree with a courtorder, the Justice

Department argued, unsuccessfully, before the district court that "preferential treatment of persons solely on account of their race" violates the "victim-specific limitation governing court-ordered affirmative equitable relief" (p. 14).

This challenge was not merely a technical objection to the use of the court's authority to mandate remedies. It was a challenge to the use of the equitable decree to promote social change: "Federal courts," the Memorandum declared, "are not at liberty, of course, to exercise their remedial powers merely to achieve socially desirable ends." This, of course, speaks to a central issue in the confirmation hearings for Supreme Court nominees.

4. The Justice Department's defeat. Following the Justice Department's Memorandum came Wygant, with its endorsement of voluntary minority hiring preferences; Firefighters, with its equation of consent decrees with voluntary action; and Sheet Metal Workers, with its support for a Fund to recruit, finance, and train minority workers so that they would be eligible for union membership.

These three Supreme Court cases utterly demolished the Justice Department's intended argument: that is, that a decree equals a court order and that a court order is bound by a victim-specific limitation.

The Supreme Court did not expressly characterize consent decrees as voluntary action under the Fourteenth Amendment in Sheet Metal Workers. Still, it indicated in general terms that "the voluntary nature of a consent decree is its most fundamental characteristic" (p. 3075). On the assumption that this language applies to consent decrees under the Fourteenth Amendment as well as Title VII, the Justice Department abandoned what the appeals court described as "its now-discredited theory of victim specificity limitation on all affirmative action remedies" (p. 809).

Because of Firefighters, the Justice Department also relinquished its effort to limit the scope of desegregation remedies contained in the consent decree to those a court could order after finding a constitutional violation. The Justice Department invoked several other arguments. One challenged the theory of an affirmative duty to integrate postsecondary education -- contrary to the position taken by the Justice Department under the Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations.[6] Second, it contended that the admissions provision of Tennessee's preprofessional program constituted a unconstitutional "quota" -- a red flag concept even to many supporters of affirmative action -- because it deprived nonminorities of equal protection under the Constitution.

The Sixth Circuit rejected both arguments. It reaffirmed the existence of an affirmative duty to integrate postsecondary education.[7] And it refused to characterize the admissions provision as an inflexible quota -- percentages or numbers that must be achieved regardless of circumstances or applicant qualifications. The Sixth Court depicted the admissions provision as a lawful "goal." Although the black students chosen for participation in the preprofessional program had an advantage not given to other race students, they were not guaranteed admission to professional schools. The plan required that they successfully complete the undergraduate program and at least meet the minimum admissions standards of the professional schools.

The "May" and the "Must Not"

The University of Tennessee easily and obviously satisfied Wygant's past discrimination precondition for the initiation of voluntary programs benefiting minority persons who have not been identified as individual victims of discrimination. It had once operated a segregated system of higher education. But evidence of past discrimination, the identification of consent decrees with voluntary action, and the acceptance of voluntary race preferences in the public sector do not decide whether a particular program falls within lawful bounds.

The Supreme Court's affirmative action cases of 1986 and 1987 produced a majority agreement on a number of limiting factors that set boundaries on the lawfulness of voluntary affirmative action in the public sector. They derive from Weber in large part and thus govern the limits affirmative action initiated by private institutions as well.

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[6] The Justice Department relied on another 1986 Supreme Court decision, Bazemore v. Friday, 54 U.S.L.W. 4972 (July 1, 1986). The Court refused to require an affirmative duty to integrate publicly supported 4-H clubs, on the grounds that its membership, unlike attendance at elementary and secondary school, is voluntary. The Justice Department argued, unsuccessfully, that Bazemore implied there is no duty to integrate postsecondary education either, because of the voluntary nature of attendance.

[7] The Sixth Court refused to apply Bazemore to education at any level. It rejected the argument that voluntary attendance is the variable that dictates whether there is an affirmative duty to integrate.

The Sixth Circuit in Geier relied principally on Justice Powell's articulation of the boundaries in his concurring opinion in Sheet Metal Workers,[8] although most of them had been voiced in other cases by other justices as well. In Johnson, which postdated Geier, Justice Brennan's majority opinion reiterated them. In accord with Justice Powell's position, the Sixth Circuit equated guidelines governing affirmative action in admissions with those governing affirmative action in hiring.

1. The temporariness test. The first and fundamental limit on any plan that confers benefits on a racial minority is that it must be a "temporary measure." This limit has been a constant in all affirmative action jurisprudence. It is a legacy of Weber, the first case ever to sanction the lawfulness of preferences that run in favor of an historically oppressed minority race. Whatever it means in practice under some affirmative action plans, a time limit to group-based preferences is essential to the notion of redressing the consequences of past discrimination. The lawful objective, courts repeatedly stress, is only "to attain, not maintain" a racial balance. Once minorities gain access to organizations and institutions from which they had been excluded, the assumption is that they will be empowered by their insider status to prevent future discrimination against members of their race.

The temporariness requirement also signifies the ultimate return to an individualistic, color-blind view of law, for it precludes the idea of permanently defining the nation in terms of a collection of racial groups. For this reason, the ultimate reconciliation of the affirmative action and individualistic positions is suggested. The logic of temporary group rights is perhaps best captured by Justice Blackman's opinion in Bakke: "In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race . . . And in order to treat some persons equally, we must first treat them differently" (p. 407).

The five-year duration of Tennessee's preprofessional program -- very short in terms of its contribution to substantial black educational progress -- easily satisfied the temporariness limit. There is nothing in the Geier court's opinion, however, suggesting that the five-year duration of the Tennessee program was pushing the outer boundary of a lawful time limit. It was, the appeals court stated, "a reasonable time by any yardstick" (p. 806). Certainly formerly segregated institutions would be on safe ground if they establish a five-year time limit on minority catch-up and admissions programs. But limiting such programs to five years would probably be overly cautious in terms of the likelihood of legal challenge, and not long enough to make a significant impact on the racial composition of the professions and faculty in the professional schools. Indeed, as explained more fully below, in the Johnson case the Supreme Court made it very clear that a valid voluntary affirmative action plan need not provide an explicit end date. A flexible goal that serves as a benchmark to measure gradual progress toward racial balance in a work force or student body cannot, by definition, establish a precise end date.

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[8] In Paradise, which postdated Geier, these five factors were supported by a majority as a sufficient justification for the one-for-one, black/white, court-ordered promotion plan.

2. More Narrowly Tailored Alternatives. A second limiting condition is that minority preferences may only be used if there are no alternative effective means of remedying current discrimination or the effects of past discrimination.

The Sixth Circuit had little difficulty concluding that Tennessee's preprofessional program satisfied the second limit. Before the court was a 16-year record of alternatives that failed to undo the "residual effects of de jure segregation". An "open door policy, coupled with good faith recruitment efforts" of other race faculty and students to white and black institutions, curriculum concentration at TSU, the ordered merger of UT-N and TSU -- none of these remedies produced meaningful integration of the universities in Nashville.

Geier v. Alexander provides legal support for the vision underlying minority doctoral support programs that have developed around the country in both public and private institutions. Increasing the number of minority professionals who can assume faculty and leadership roles in traditionally white institutions is a more promising strategy for achieving integration in postsecondary education than is mandating structural changes. The latter is resisted by institutions of higher education and can be aborted by the choices individuals make.

Although the numerical racial goals of Tennessee's plan satisfied the alternative remedies test, the notion of more narrowly tailored remedies is sufficiently indeterminate to permit varying interpretations and outcomes. The Sixth Circuit is well known as one of the most supportive of the appeals courts toward affirmative action. And Tennessee's higher education system had been subject to court orders for almost two decade. In less extreme situations, and with courts less hospitable toward preferential affirmative action, failure to consider race-neutral alternatives may invalidate preferential affirmative action. This was one of the bases of the August 1987 decision of another appellate court, which held the affirmative action hiring plan for District of Columbia firefighters unlawful under Title VII.[9]

3. Goal setting: Using a relevant population. A third limit placed on the scope of preferential affirmative action in employment is that the percentage of minority group members benefited at the expense of nonminorities must be related to the percentage of minorities in the relevant work force. Like the temporariness requirement this is one limit upon which a majority of the Supreme Court has consistently agreed in the employment context. Transposed to the context of academic preparatory programs, the Geier court measured the preprofessional program against the eligible student population. The selection of 75 black sophomores a year for five years, it concluded, "is modest by any standard and does not exceed the size of the relevant pool of minority prospects for such an education" (p. 806). Although the court failed to specify precisely what this pool was, the Consent Decree suggests the comparison was with the proportion of minority undergraduates in good academic standing.

4. Flexible goals. The fourth limitation on affirmative action touches on the uncertain distinction between impermissible quotas and permissible goals. Or, to use labels that bypass the quota-goal distinction, the line between the "may" and the "must not" tracks the distinction between permissible and impermissible goals.

A unanimous Supreme Court, speaking in separate opinions in different cases, has rejected "quotas" or "impermissible goals" in so far as the terms characterize a fixed number or percentage of minorities that must be employed or promoted, regardless of the qualifications of minority (or female) beneficiaries or of changing circumstances. "Permissible goals" on the other hand establish target figures that may or may not be attainable through the use of preferences, within a specific time limit.

Even the most ardent supporters of affirmative action on the Supreme Court have rejected "mere blind hiring by numbers" (Justice Brennan in Johnson, p.4385). Nevertheless, disagreement among Supreme Court justices, and already among lower court judges, center on whether a particular plan involves an unlawful quota or "impermissible goal," or a "permissible goal," whatever the label used.

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[9] Hammon v. Barry, (D.C. Cir., August 14, 1987).

A number of the justices have identified several features that make numerical objectives lawful and constitutional. First, goals are flexible targets for minority employment and education. Flexibility may be indicated by the existence of a waiver that provides for change in the numerical objective or postponement of the target date in light of "realistic factors." One basis for a waiver is the absence of "qualified minority candidates." By the time of the Geier decision the Supreme Court had not concerned itself with the legal significance of distinctions among those who are at or above some threshold, separating the qualified from the unqualified. The only two employment categories were qualified and unqualified, and the definitions were ostensibly left to the employers. In Geier, the appeals court tacitly assumed the same applied to admission to educational institutions. Although the Supreme Court's subsequent decision in Johnson (discussed at greater length below) may encourage courts to take into account the relative degree of qualification, it is a Title VII employment case, not a 14th Amendment admissions case.

A second basis for a waiver is a change in circumstances that alters the premise upon which the goal was based. If changing economic conditions reduce the demand for employees, for example, the numerical goal and the time frame for reaching it must be altered. An analogous situation in an educational setting would be a retrenchment of an academic program.

Third, and implicit in the first factor, is that goals must originally be based on a close relationship to the percentage of minorities (or women) eligible for whatever opening is involved (i.e. hiring or promotion). This factor, of course, merely restates the third limitation on preferences -- the requirement that goals bear a close relationship to the number of eligible minorities.

Tennessee's preprofessional program for black students satisfied the flexible goal limitation on minority preferences. The district and appeals courts characterized all the "numerical references" in the consent decree as "objectives only." Waiver was implied by the recognition that failure to meet the goals through "good faith efforts," would not subject the state to sanctions. Furthermore, assuming good faith selection efforts succeed in filling the preprofessional program with the planned number of sophomores, no minority student is guaranteed admission to a professional school. Each must successfully complete the undergraduate program and at least meet minimum admissions standards of the professional school. Unlike the California plan struck down in Bakke the Tennessee plan does not reserve a fixed number of seats for black students.

On the other hand the Tennessee plan does not treat race as merely a "plus" in the competition of all applicants with each other. The lawfulness of an admissions plan, like Harvard's undergraduate plan, which treats race as one "plus" factor among others, is a legacy of Justice Powell's Bakke opinion. Had the University of California followed that model it would have survived legal scrutiny. But unlike the Tennessee universities, the University of California at Davis, the institution involved in Bakke, was not guilty of past racial discrimination. This critical distinction may be the unarticulated reason why the Sixth Circuit accepted an admissions plan that guaranteed acceptance to every participant who completes the undergraduate program and meets the minimum professional school admissions standards.

5. Limiting the burden on nonminorities. A fifth and constant consideration in all affirmative action cases dating from Bakke and Weber is the extent to which affirmative action preferences harm "innocent" nonminorities. The Geier court's treatment of this issue was superficial; it compared the "percentage goals" of the Tennessee plan to the hiring goals upheld in Sheet Metal Workers. Preferential hiring and admissions do not "impose the same serious consequences on members of the majority race" (p. 806) as the race-based layoff provision the Supreme Court struck down in Wygant.

In view of the vulnerability of the Supreme Court's affirmative action cases to interpretative evisceration, consider the burden issue further. The preprofessional academic program and the admissions component of the Tennessee plan were in fact closely analogous to the recruitment, counseling, and training fund and union admissions goal, which the Supreme Court upheld in Sheet Metal Workers. For some inexplicable reason, the Geier court made no direct reference to it. This reluctance cannot be explained by the difference between the court-ordered remedy and Tennessee's voluntary plan. A state agency acting voluntarily to address the consequences of its past unconstitutional (i.e intentional) discrimination is not subject to the limitations that a court may order to remedy violations of Title VII. Therefore, if, as Sheet Metal Workers held, a federal court may mandate a nonwhite union membership goal, and the creation of a fund to be used for the recruitment and training of minority workers to counter the "lingering effects" of past "egregious discrimination," public educational entities may voluntarily provide for minority "catch-up" programs and some admissions preferences to counter the consequences (throughout the entire educational pipeline) of their unquestioned prior discrimination.

As for the burden the fund and union membership goal imposed on nonminorities, it was "marginal," the Supreme Court concluded. Existing union members would not be disadvantaged since no one would be displaced. Similarly, matriculating graduate students will not be disadvantaged by the Tennessee plan. The real issue, of course, is the impact on nonminority applicants who also seek entry to "the clogged channels of opportunity."[10] Sheet Metal Workers made it very clear that the exclusion of some white applicants from a union or a job was not an unlawful burden as long as the goal is appropriately related to the relevant work force. Whites as a group, in other words, are not absolutely barred, although some individual whites will be. The impact on white applicants of the admissions provision of the Tennessee plan is analogous.[11]

6. The stigma test: Ignored and abandoned. The four justices who voted to uphold the University of California's admission plan in Bakke introduced a stigma test for assessing the constitutionality of an affirmative action plan. Lower courts reiterated it. But it is not mentioned in any of the Court's recent affirmative action cases.

An affirmative action plan does not impose an undue stigma on the majority race or on the minority beneficiaries of the plan. The assumption that whites are not stigmatized by minority preferences was virtually absolute rather than testable. The assumption that racial minorities are not stigmatized as beneficiaries of affirmative action preferences was treated the same way. The stigma "test" was really a defense of affirmative action in general. It referred to the stigma imposed by a dominant racial group when it segregates and suppresses a minority race. By definition the attempt by society to amend the consequences of that history, by fostering the integration, education, and economic progress of the victimized group is not stigmatizing.

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[10] From the majority opinion in Hammon v. Barry, (D.C. Cir. August 14, 1987), Slip Opinion.

[11] For those familiar with Justice Powell's opinion in Bakke, it may be of interest that he suggested, in a footnote to Sheet Metal Workers, that he would support, contrary to his earlier position, a plan that ranks minorities separately from nonminorities, considers them competitively only with each other, and ranks them according to a different set of criteria. Of more importance than form, Justice Powell now concluded, was the reality of the burden imposed on "innocent nonminorities." He noted that Marco De Funis, the white law student who brought the first (but moot) "reverse discrimination" challenge to an affirmative action admissions plan (at the University of Washington Law School) had been accepted at other institutions. Because no other justice expressly agreed with Justice Powell, and because he is no longer on the Court, it would be risky to rely on this metamorphosis in his position.

A genuine inquiry into whether undue stigma results from preferences would have to confront the down side of many affirmative action initiatives. This is something the Court has never attempted. It would require that it delve into delicate issues of self-esteem and personal dignity. The stigma that robs an individual of credit for succeeding on his or her purely competitive capabilities may not even be attached to a particular affirmative action plan. Negative psychological consequences may result from pervasive perceptions created by affirmative action generally. If treated as a genuine test of consequences, the stigma test could undermine a great deal of affirmative action. Those who accept affirmative action, but with reservations, precisely because preferences can stigmatize, search for alternative strategies that produce equally or more effective results.

Traditionally White Institutions Without a History of Discrimination

The Wygant past discrimination "predicate" for race preferences was not a disputed issue in Geier. The history of Tennessee's segregated state system of higher education was obvious. Segregation was not subtle: it was written into state law.

The Supreme Court's decisions of 1986-87 place other public colleges and universities in a more equivocal situation. For institutions that have never been officially segregated, past discrimination cannot, or is not likely to be invoked to justify "remedial" preferences. There are two other legal theories voiced in the Supreme Court's affirmative action cases that may justify affirmative action preferences in postsecondary education. However, uncertainties and complications accompany them.

1. Racial diversity and the Constitution. In a familiar nutshell, the Bakke of Justice Powell's opinion proclaimed "quotas no, race yes." At a university that was not guilty

of past discrimination, race could be counted as a "plus" factor in admissions. The model was Harvard's undergraduate admissions plan: In the interest of creating a diverse student population, race may be counted as one among many variables -- geography; musical, theatrical, artistic, and athletic ability; socio-economic status; as well as grades, references, essays, and test scores. But Justice Powell's diversity theory in Bakke was not an affirmative action theory. In an effort to reconcile race-consciousness with an individualistic interpretation of Title VI and the Constitution, Justice Powell grounded his diversity theory on the First Amendment of the Constitution, not the Equal Protection Clause. Minority presence is valued, he wrote, because it contributes to "the robust exchange of ideas" -- to "wide exposure to the ideas and mores of students as diverse as the nation of many peoples" (p. 313). According minority race a plus, in the interest of intellectual diversity, would, he contended, ensure individualized competition of each applicant with all other applicants.

In Wygant, Justice Powell authored the "judgment" of a divided Court and never mentioned the version of the diversity theory. Instead, he crossed beyond the threshold of individualism and endorsed voluntary affirmative action hiring preferences as a means of redressing past discrimination. It was upon Justice Powell's opinions in Wygant and Sheet Metal Workers that the Sixth Circuit primarily relied on in Geier.

The notion of diversity was not ignored in Wygant, however. Justice O'Connor revived it with a significant difference in emphasis. Her accent is on race. "[A]lthough its precise contours are uncertain, a state interest in the promotion of racial diversity has been found sufficiently 'compelling,' at least in the context of higher education, to support the use of racial considerations in furthering that interest" (p. 1853).

To what extent does this theory of racial diversity support minority support programs and the consideration of race in admissions? Catch-up programs and other special support programs for minority students that are effective in increasing access to, retention in, and graduation from college and graduate school are means for increasing or at least for preventing a decline in racial diversity in higher education. And, of course, these programs contribute to a less racially stratified society as well. In sum, the legal theory of racial diversity fits these strategies for minority achievement, without concern for differences between the public or private character of higher education institutions. And, because the theory focuses on outcomes, it is indifferent to institutional past history. Therefore, the racial diversity theory transcends the distinction between past discrimination and societal discrimination.

Justice O'Connor's version of diversity theory is candid about race. Nevertheless its "contours," as Justice O'Connor recognized, have yet to be worked out. Because it is not a remedial theory, the test of temporariness, at least, would seem to be irrelevant. The racial diversity theory also requires that attention be given to its consequences for different minority races, attention that soon may be demanded by claims initiated by Asian Americans. Affirmative action litigation has focused primarily on the plight of black Americans. But Asian Americans increasingly question whether they are subject to discrimination by academic institutions with competitive admissions.

The authority of this racial diversity theory is not yet assured. To my knowledge it has never been squarely tested in court. Justice O'Connor did not voice it in a majority opinion. Nevertheless, a tally suggests a majority of justices, even without Justice Powell, would support it. If so, it could be of immense significance for traditionally white institutions of higher education. The racial diversity justification for race-conscious hiring, academic programs, and admissions is not concerned with whether a public college or university ever engaged in discrimination. The diversity theory implies that the California State University system as well as Tennessee State University, may lawfully exempt poorly prepared minority students from regular admission standards.

2. Societal discrimination. The most serious conundrum-bequeathed by the Supreme Court's 1986-1987 affirmative action decisions is the contradiction they set up between constitutional and statutory theories for justifying affirmative action preferences in the public sector.

In Wygant a strong majority supported Justice Powell's opinion, holding that remedying a public employer's own past discrimination might justify some voluntary affirmative action hiring preferences. As noted earlier, this represented a significant shift from Justice Powell's position in Bakke. Justice Powell denied that public colleges and universities have either the authority or capability to make findings of discrimination in their own institutions or systems. Wygant thus eliminated the requirement that public institutions may initiate affirmative action only upon findings by "competent" external authorities.

In both Bakke and Wygant however, Justice Powell maintained that public institutions could not act to remedy the effects of societal discrimination. Societal discrimination, he wrote in Bakke, is "an amorphous concept of injury that may be ageless in its reach into the past" (p. 307), and he added in Wygant, "timeless in [its] ability to affect the future" (p. 1848). Affirmative action that is premised on curing the effects of discrimination in the society at large is, in legal terms, not only not victim-specific with regard to the remedy for discrimination, but is not even employer-specific with regard to the source of discrimination.

Although it is arguable whether Wygant is an authority for the proposition that public institutions may initiate affirmative action only to counter the effects of their own discrimination, there is no doubt that it endorsed the past institutional discrimination justification.[12] To date, lower courts have interpreted Wygant as holding that societal discrimination alone is not a sufficient justification, under the Constitution, for racial preferences in the public sector.

In Johnson, ten months after Wygant, a majority of the Court, which included Justice Powell, offered its perplexing and unpredictable interpretation of Title VII which seemed to contradict Wygant's emphasis on past discrimination as the precondition for affirmative action preferences in public employment. Under Title VII, the Court held, a public employer, like a private employer, "need not point to its own prior discriminatory practices" to justify a hiring preference (p. p.4383). It suffices if the underrepresentation of women (or certain races) results from "strong social pressures [that] weigh against their participation" (p. 4384, n. 12). This conception of societal discrimination was expansive, as dissenting Justice Scalia argued, for it seems to encompass social attitudes that many women may internalize as their own. Affirmative action then may apply to job categories in which few women have demonstrated an interest; it may raise and change traditional consciousness, as well as respond to it. This view of societal discrimination goes beyond its conceptualization in Weber in which it was linked to national patterns of overt race discrimination.

Statutory requirements and constitutional requirements may differ of course. But in the affirmative action context an interpretation that makes it easier to justify minority preferences under a statute than under the Equal Protection

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[12] For more extensive discussion of whether Wygant left open the possibility of a societal discrimination justification, see Clague, supra, note 1, pp. 191-192.

Clause is idiosyncratic, as dissenting Justice Scalia legitimately protested: "[I]t would be strange to construe Title VII to permit discrimination by public actors that the Constitution forbids" (p. 4394). It would be extraordinary indeed if the Court were to uphold an affirmative action plan under a statute that the Court would declare unconstitutional in an Equal Protection Clause case. Such a decision would challenge the most fundamental axiom of our legal system -- that "the Constitution is the supreme law of the land." The Circuit Court that decided the case invalidating the affirmative action plan for District of Columbia firefighters was unwilling to treat Johnson as "working such a radical revolution in the law of Title VII." Johnson does not, the appeals court determined, "drastically alter the legal landscape so as to eliminate [the] longstanding requirement" of past or continuing discrimination (Hammon v. Barry, Slip Opinion).

At some point the Supreme Court must reconcile Title VII and the Constitution, either by adopting a past institutional discrimination theory for both, or a societal discrimination theory for both. The odds are, as of this writing, that a new majority will favor the former approach.

Between Title VII and Title VI: Implications for Educational Opportunities

The implications of the incongruity between the Wygant and Johnson's decisions for affirmative action in employment is discussed in the next section. But what are the implications for special minority programs and admissions? For the present one can only answer this question with further questions.

The Court muddled our understanding of the relationship between Title VII and the Equal Protection Clause of the Constitution. The logic of the Court's decisions also results in disparate interpretations of Title VII, the employment discrimination component of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and Title VI, the educational discrimination subtitle of the same statute.

Title VI stipulates that no person may be subjected to discrimination in any program or activity that receives federal financial assistance. It covers public and private colleges and universities alike. In several cases, including Bakke and Weber, the Supreme Court has equated the requirements of Title VI with the requirements of the Constitution. The justices have disagreed about what those requirements are, but, unlike Johnson's treatment of Title VII, they have not severed the interpretation of Title VI from the interpretation of the Constitution. The majority opinion of Justice Brennan in Johnson underscored the following: Title VI and the Constitution embody the same prohibitions; Title VII and the Constitution do not embody the same prohibitions; Title VI and Title VII therefore, are not coterminous.

What are the practical implications of this equation? If past or continuing institutional discrimination is treated as a necessary precondition for affirmative action preferences under the Constitution, then it is also a necessary precondition under Title VI. Title VI, unlike the Equal Protection Clause, covers private as well as public institutions. Are private educational institutions bound therefore to a past institutional discrimination theory under Title VI because Title VI "embodies the same constraints as the Constitution"? The logical implication of the Johnson equation does not provide a complete answer.

Even if Title VI, like the Constitution, is directed at prior or continuing intentional discrimination, the scope of Title VI's coverage now appears to have narrowed. In October 1987, in United States v. Alabama,[13] the Alabama higher education desegregation case, the Eleventh Circuit overturned the lower court's decision because it did not limit the reach of Title VI to programs or activities directly supported by federal funds. The wellspring of this program-specific limitation on Title VI is the Supreme Court's 1984 decision in Grove City v. Bell,[14] which imposed this restrictive interpretation on the comparable "program or activity" language of Title IX -- the civil rights law covering gender discrimination in education.

The policy consequences of Eleventh Circuit's Title VI decision are stunning. Limiting coverage to programs or activities directly benefiting from federal financial assistance upends a major premise of 15 years of desegregation litigation in higher education (the Adams case), not to mention elementary-secondary education: that is, it negates the systemwide coverage with which Title VI had been credited for years. The flip side of the restrictive, program-specific interpretation of Title VI, however, is to limit its use for "reverse discrimination" challenges to special minority support and admissions programs at public and private institutions.

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[13] No. 86-7090. Following Geier, and consistent with Geier's affirmation of an affirmative duty to dismantle former dual systems of higher education, the Justice Department argued that Alabama must change conditions that impede integration resulting from the free choice of institutions by individuals.

[14] 104 S. Ct. 1211 (1984).

A program-specific interpretation of Title VI limits the authority of the Executive Branch to use the threat of funds withdrawal from segregated state systems. It does not, however, preclude a system-wide attack on state systems by minority plaintiffs based on the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. And it does not change the potential targets of reverse discrimination complaints under the Equal Protection Clause. The targets are the public colleges and universities, not the private ones.

The Academic Employment-Educational Opportunity Link

This is not the occasion to delve into many of the employment issues of great complexity and confusion with which the Supreme Court's 1986 and 1987 decisions dealt. There are, however, three matters of particular relevance to the focus on minority educational achievement that deserve special attention. The first is the Court's treatment of a particular role-model theory. The second concerns the Court's treatment of Executive Order 11,246 and the evidence required to justify the use of employment preferences. The third concerns the implications of the model for a lawful affirmative action plan, which the Court endorsed in Johnson.

1. Faculty role-model theory. One of the most frequently voiced theories in support of increasing the number of minority faculty in higher education is the need for role models for minority students. (The argument sometimes is advanced in support of female faculty too.) Whether the role-model effect is related to mere visibility of minority faculty, or to actual interaction between minority students and minority faculty is not clear. But the evidence suggests that the presence of minority faculty helps attract and retain minority students (Blackwell). The presence of minority students in turn helps with the recruitment of more students of the same underrepresented racial group. In an optimistic interpretation of institutional change, the increase in minority presence does more than make the predominantly white environment more inviting. "As enrollments of a specific minority group approach 20 percent, the environment changes from accommodation through special programs to incorporation into the mainstream of institutional culture" (Richardson et al., Change).

Minority faculty presence is urged especially for disciplines in which minorities (blacks and Hispanics particularly) traditionally have been poorly represented. This is a priority consideration in a number of programs designed to increase the number of minority doctorates. But, how would a role model argument fare in court? One version of a role-model theory was used by the lower courts in Wygant. No Supreme Court justice accepted it. Whether a role-model argument would be rejected in litigation involving faculty in higher education depends on the ability of counsel and courts to distinguish the higher education version from the particular version rejected in Wygant.

In upholding the Jackson, Michigan affirmative action plan the lower courts in Wygant invoked a role-model argument. The plan rejected the criteria used in employment discrimination law for determining minority underrepresentation in particular "job categories." It did not compare the percentage of minority faculty in Jackson's school system with the percentage of minorities in the relevant qualified labor pool. Instead, the ultimate employment goal was set by matching the racial percentage of the faculty with the racial percentage of the student body. To support this faculty-student comparison, the district court adopted the following role-model argument: "[m]inority teachers are role-models for minority students. This is vitally important because societal discrimination has often deprived minority children of other role-models."

Major differences in context between elementary-secondary education and postsecondary education at traditionally white institutions create major differences in role-model theory at each level. Students in Jackson, Michigan were in school because of compulsory education laws. The minority percentage was large and growing. The role-model theory was not used to argue that Jackson's school system needed black faculty to attract black students. The lower courts used the role-model theory to support the goal of increasing the number of minority teachers until their percentage approximated the racial percentages of the student population. Moreover, the lower courts linked this goal with the use of race-based layoffs as a means of reaching it. Whether the Court would ever support race-based layoffs to protect minority hiring gains using conventional goals is not clear. But a majority clearly would not support layoffs to work toward a faculty-student percentage match.

The logic of the lower court's position, carried to an extreme, was that the larger the minority presence in the student body, the larger the minority presence must be on the faculty. For public elementary/secondary education, this logic collides head on with the law and logic of integration. "[T]he idea that black students are better off with black teachers could lead to the very system the Court rejected in Brown v. Board of Education," Justice Powell warned.

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In contrast to the role-model theory rejected in Wygant, the role-model argument invoked for changing traditionally white institutions of higher education is profoundly integrationist. Minority faculty are perceived as a key to attracting underrepresented minority students, whereas Jackson's plan was premised on the need to increase the number of minority faculty to match the large and growing percentage of minority students. Given geographic segregation and limits to the number of minority teachers, the role-model argument proposed by the lower courts in Wygant would support an increase in the inter-district racial identity of public elementary and secondary schools. The role-model theory advanced for increasing minority faculty in traditionally white institutions of higher education would diminish inter-institutional segregation.

Wygant implies that traditionally black institutions of higher education that invoke a role-model argument for discrimination against nonblack faculty would not fare well in the courts. Although more limited in their ability to effect integration in postsecondary education than in elementary-secondary education, courts have not positively promoted racially identifiable colleges and universities. At least one federal court has condemned a race-alike role-model argument made by Howard University as "apostate to the cause of racial equality."[15]

2. The showdown over Executive Order 11,246. One of the clearest and most straightforward consequences of the Court's decision was reaffirming the validity of the goals and timetable requirements of Executive Order 11,246 (which covers race), amended in 1974 to cover gender. It is this Executive Order that requires academic institutions, public and private, that are federal government contractors to develop written affirmative action plans that set hiring goals for minorities and women. It was one of the prime targets of the Justice Department's attack on affirmative action. Immediately after the Supreme Court handed down its decision in Wygant, Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds announced that Wygant required repeal of the Executive Order's requirement that government contractors, who had not been found guilty of discrimination, could not be required to adopt hiring goals and timetables for "underutilized" minorities and women.

Wygant offered neither the clearest word nor the last word the Court had to offer on the validity of hiring goals and of the Executive Order in particular. Even assuming

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[15] Planells v. Howard University, 32 FEP Cases 337, 345 (D.C. Cir. 1983).

Wygant held that past discrimination is a necessary condition for preferential hiring goals, it did not produce majority consensus on the timing and amount of evidence required before an employer could embark on an affirmative action program. Justice O'Connor's concurring opinion was the pivotal one on this issue. She would not impose a requirement that employers produce evidence of discrimination prior to initiating voluntary affirmative action. Instead she would only require evidence of substantial statistical disparities between the number of qualified minorities employed and the number in the relevant labor pool. This meant an employer could engage in affirmative action hiring on the basis of "apparent" past discrimination.

Quite apart from Wygant, six weeks later a majority of the Court confirmed the validity of the goals and timetables provisions of the Executive Order in Sheet Metal Workers. Strictly speaking this rebuff to the Justice Department's position was dictum; the validity of the Executive Order was peripheral to the legal issue posed in the case. Nevertheless, six justices, in a case involving public employment, forewarned that they endorsed preferential hiring for racial minorities through the use of flexible goals and timetables. Even with the departure of Justice Powell, majority support remains. Of course the Executive Order is a Presidential Order. What one president creates, another could cast down. The branch of government with authority to override such an executive action would not be the judiciary. It is Congress.

Subsequently, the Johnson decision endorsed a societal discrimination theory under Title VII. This translated, on the evidentiary issue, into the conclusion that employers, public as well as private, are not required to base affirmative action preferences on evidence of discrimination traceable to their own actions, or even to evidence of an "apparent violation" of Title VII. Drawing on the language used in Weber the Johnson majority adopted what is called the "manifest imbalance" standard. The size of the imbalance between the number of women (or racial minorities) employed in a "traditionally segregated job category" and the number of women (or racial minorities) in the labor force having the relevant qualifications need not be so great as to

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satisfy the "apparent discrimination"[16] standard favored by Justice O'Connor in Wygant.

Does this interpretation of Title VII place public employers on the same or different footing than private employers? May Arizona State and the University of Massachusetts do what Carlton or Amherst may do? The answer is not clear. Public institutions are caught in the middle of an unresolved tension between constitutional and statutory requirements. The message of Wygant is that a public educational institution must justify affirmative action preferences by some kind of evidence of its own past discrimination if it is challenged under the Equal Protection Clause.

The contradictory message of Johnson is that a public, like a private institution, may rely on a statistical imbalance in a particular "job category" that falls short of the "prima facie" standard. The justification for affirmative action under Title VII is not past employer discrimination. It suffices that underrepresentation of women and minorities may be an indirect consequence of societal attitudes, including those internalized by members of the underrepresented group. The implication of this majority view in Johnson is that Arizona State and Amherst would be on the same footing under Title VII. But, a white male claiming reverse discrimination if a white female is preferred at SUNY Plattsburgh (for example) or white men and women who claim reverse discrimination if a minority race candidate is preferred at Queens College (for example) would have an incentive to invoke the Equal Protection Clause. Sooner or later, the Court must decide whether it intended Title VII to authorize a public institution to do what the Constitution forbids it to do. If the answer is positive, it would work a radical transformation in U.S. law.

Another likely scenario is that a reverse discrimination plaintiff will press a constitutional claim against a settlement based on Title VII. Resolution of the constitutional question would be necessary to decide the case. Then the choice would be to determine if Johnson's Title VII "manifest imbalance" standard applies to constitutional cases, or whether *Wygant* requires public institutions to justify employment preferences with more substantial evidence of past discrimination -- at least enough to meet the higher "prima facie" standard favored by Justice O'Connor. If the latter choice is made, Arizona State University and the University of Massachusetts must justify affirmative action preferences with a stronger showing of statistical disparities than Amherst or Carlton.

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[16] A statistical imbalance large enough to establish an inference of discrimination is referred to as the "prima facie case standard." The prima facie standard was advocated by Justice O'Connor in her concurring opinions in both Wygant and Johnson. Possibly because there were no women among the 238 craft positions in the Transportation Agency, Justice O'Connor did not refer to the statistical method used by the Court to establish a prima facie case.

3. *Exclusive minority faculty lines*. The Supreme Court has never considered whether practical differences between admissions and faculty hiring call for a different analysis of the lawful limits of affirmative action in each context. The admissions process rations access to a significant number of openings on a regular basis. Faculty hiring usually is a decentralized process that fills a few uniquely defined vacancies on a variable basis.

A number of universities, committed to, or pressured by the Office for Civil Rights to increase minority hiring, have created minority hiring guidelines for use when an attractive minority candidate is recruited or initiates an application. In some states the ultimate goal of minority doctoral support programs is to increase the number of minority faculty in the state higher educational system. May colleges and universities lawfully reserve or create particular positions for minority applicants?

The Supreme Court has not addressed this question in the higher education context. But *Johnson* could certainly be interpreted as generally prohibiting reserved positions in employment. It is the first Supreme Court case to consider a challenge to affirmative action in filling a single, winner-take-all job opening. The Justice Department, in support of Paul Johnson's reverse discrimination complaint, challenged the use of preferences in all winner-take-all employment contexts. Although the Supreme Court ignored this argument, it emphasized with approval that the agency "earmarks no positions for anyone"(p. 4386); that "[*n]o* persons are automatically excluded from consideration; *all* are able to have their qualifications weighed against those of other applicants" (p. 4385, emphasis in the original). Instead of distinguishing admissions and hiring, the Court equated them. For it was, as noted above, the Harvard undergraduate admissions plan that served as the model for treating gender as a "plus" in the competition of qualified candidates.

The Score Card: Expressed and Implied

The Supreme Court's affirmative action decisions of 1986 and 1987 do not offer a clear and comprehensive blueprint for what academic institutions may or may not do to enhance minority educational or employment opportunities. After rejecting a color-blind interpretation of the Constitution the Court began the task of establishing justifications (preconditions) and limits to preferences. What follows is a summary of issues the Court addressed with varying degrees of finality and clarity. I assume, as the Geier court did, that barring an unlikely ruling to the contrary, decisions dealing with employment (particularly employment training and hiring) may be transposed to academic support programs and admissions.

What is Clear: Messages of Majority Opinions

1. Remedying past discrimination: The public sector. One of the Court's most fundamental majority holdings was the conclusion that the Equal Protection Clause permits public institutions to adopt preferential hiring goals as a means of redressing the underrepresentation of minorities resulting from the institution's own discrimination. The lawfulness of similar initiatives by private institutions, under the authority of Title VII, had not been in doubt. The applicability of employment cases to admissions also appears unquestioned.

2. Remedying societal discrimination: The public sector. A second, and unanticipated majority holding in Johnson was the conclusion that Title VII permits public institutions to adopt gender (and racial) preferences in hiring and promotion as a means of redressing underrepresentation resulting from "strong social pressures." The critical fifth vote in Johnson for this sweeping societal discrimination theory was that of Justice Powell. There was nothing in his Wygant opinion, which embraced a past employer discrimination theory, or any other of his other opinions, intimating he would endorse a societal discrimination justification for gender (and race) preferences in the public sector. As noted earlier, he had expressly condemned a societal discrimination justification for affirmative action in both Bakke and Wygant.

3. Remedying societal discrimination: The private sector. The generally accepted view from Weber that private institutions may adopt preferential hiring goals as a means of redressing the consequences of societal discrimination was reaffirmed in Johnson. This was particularly significant because Justice White, one of the five-man majority in Weber, asserted in Firefighters (and again in Johnson) that he interpreted Weber to the contrary -- that is, as requiring private, as well as public employers, to act on the basis of their own prior discrimination (p. 3081). The net result of the support Justice Stevens gave to a societal

discrimination interpretation of *Weber* in *Johnson* is still a majority of five who accept that interpretation. At present private colleges and universities are not required to justify affirmative action in employment, and by extension, admissions, with evidence of their own past or continuing discrimination. How settled a conclusion this is, remains to be seen. Justice Powell, one of the five supporters of a societal discrimination theory under Title VII is no longer on the Court.

4. *The limits to affirmative action preferences*. Affirmative action preferences, whatever the justification for them, are always subject to limits. A majority of the court has reached a consensus, at a general level, on each of the five limits discussed previously. Affirmative action preferences must be temporary: that is, they may be used to "attain, but not maintain" racial balance. The Court has never endorsed proportional racial or gender representation as an end in itself. Finally, Affirmative action preferences may not be necessary. If redress of underrepresentation can be achieved without preferences, then the preferences exceed lawful limits.

Affirmative action initiatives must relate goals to a relevant population. What this population is will vary according to the nature of employment involved. Positions that hire unskilled labor for training may look to general population statistics. The goals for jobs requiring specialized skills must be based on the availability of individuals with the relevant qualifications. The Court has not extended this relevant population analysis to competitive admissions to academic programs. Although the *Geier* court did comment on the modest goals of Tennessee's preprofessional program, there are no definitive guidelines for determining relevant populations for different academic programs. As long as academic institutions eschew "rigid quotas," and treat race as a "plus" with whatever student pool it draws from, they probably have a large margin of legal safety.

A majority of the Court opposes fixed quotas, or positions "earmarked" for women or minorities only. Whether this will carry over to admissions is not clear. Should the issue be posed squarely, as in *Bakke*, the position of new Court appointees will be critical. Justice Powell's footnote comment in *Sheet Metal Workers*, supporting separate minority rankings in professional school admissions, certainly signalled a major modification in his position since *Bakke*. But his comment was dictum and he is no longer on the Court.

The last of the limitations is that affirmative action may not unnecessarily trammel the interest of nonminorities.

This requirement may stimulate more imaginative thinking by opponents of preferences than has been demonstrated in case law to date. Agreement on these five limiting principles in the abstract, does not, however, guarantee agreement in their application. If they are given a cramped interpretation, the scope for affirmative action preferences could be quite narrow.

5. Consent decrees as voluntary action. A majority opinion of the Supreme Court gave primacy to the voluntary nature of consent decrees. The importance of this characterization for both public and private institutions is greater leeway for voluntary affirmative action initiatives than a court could order.

6. Gender and affirmative action. The majority opinion in Johnson, and an overall majority of six, held that Title VII supports voluntary affirmative action preferences for women as well as minorities in both public and private employment. Harvard's undergraduate admissions plan, which Justice Powell suggested as a model in support of his First Amendment diversity argument in Bakke, resurfaced in Johnson, this time as a model for a valid affirmative action plan under Title VII. Despite the difference in justifying theories used in Bakke and Johnson, both decisions commend the admissions model because it requires women (and by implication minorities) to compete as individuals, even if their race or gender gives them an edge. As noted above, application of the Harvard admissions model to employment signifies rejection of positions "earmarked" for one race or gender.

What Is Not Clear: Uncertain Messages of Majority Opinions

1. The Equal Protection Clause v. Title VII. The tension created by the Court's recognition of conflicting theories justifying affirmative action under the Equal Protection Clause (Wygant) and under Title VII (Johnson) will inevitably breed more litigation, probably contradictory at the lower court level and, one assumes, someday clarifying at the Supreme Court level. Indeed, the Court has agreed to hear the procedural issues involved in a case that pits the Equal Protection Clause against a Title VII settlement between the New York City Police Department and its Hispanic and black police officers.[17] The Court declined, however, to address the substantive question posed -- whether the Title VII settlement violates the Equal Protection Clause. No

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[17] Marino v. Ortiz, 806 F. 2d 1144 (2d Cir. 1986), cert. granted, 55 U.S.L.W. 3705 (May 18, 1987).

doubt this question will continue to be pressed in other cases. The practical consequence for public colleges and universities that initiate some kind of preferential affirmative action in employment is uncertain over the timing and amount of evidence required to justify their actions if challenged.

2. Imprecise concepts: Statistical imbalance and traditionally segregated job category. Wygant did not definitively settle questions as to what evidence would suffice to satisfy the past discrimination justification for affirmative action under the Equal Protection Clause. The Johnson majority accepted the terms "manifest imbalance" (gender or racial) in a "traditionally segregated job category" -- terms used in Weber -- but it did not define them. The facts of the Johnson case were extreme; no woman had ever held a craft position in the Transportation Department, although there were a small number of women with qualifications. Zero female employment was clearly not the imbalance the majority demanded. Nor must an imbalance be large enough to establish a prima facie case of discrimination. That is all we are told. Similarly the meaning of a traditionally segregated job category was not spelled out. Are all faculty positions? Are some?

3. Title VI and affirmative action. The Johnson majority equated the limitations of Title VI with the limitations of the Constitution: that is, both require evidence of past discrimination as a predicate for affirmative action preferences. The logic of this equation implies that public institutions without a history of discrimination may be vulnerable to a Title VI and Equal Protection Clause challenge to special admissions or minority catch-up programs. Because of the equation of the constraints of Title VI with those of the Constitution, the logic of this equation also implies that private institutions that do not have a history of discrimination are vulnerable to Title VI challenges.

It is possible, of course, that courts will interpret Title VI differently when applied to public and when applied to private colleges and universities. In any event, the recent decision of the Eleventh Circuit in the Alabama desegregation case, with its program-specific interpretation of Title VI, suggests that Title VI offers reverse discrimination complainants limited targets.

Messages of Majority Aggregates

1. Role model theory. In Wygant a majority of the Justices in separate opinions, including the staunch

advocates of affirmative action, rejected the race-alike, role-model theory used by the lower courts to justify a minority employment goal calculated with reference to the minority student population in the school district. In the setting of Jackson, Michigan's public elementary and secondary schools it suggested a return to segregation. The role-model argument advanced in the context of higher education is precisely the opposite. The theory is that the presence of minority race faculty, especially in academic disciplines in which minorities are particularly underrepresented, will both attract minority students and combat stereotypes generally. A thoughtful court should be able to understand the radical difference between the Wygant and the postsecondary versions of role-model theory.

2. Racial diversity. Justice O'Connor's claim that "a state interest in the promotion of racial diversity has been found sufficiently 'compelling,' at least in the context of higher education, to support the use of racial considerations in pursuing that interest," could be the higher education sleeper: it might be endorsed one day in a majority opinion.

Questions

1. The matter of qualifications. There are many unanswered issues, but among the most important for educators is what the range is within which relative merit or qualifications may be outweighed by race or gender preferences. Putting together concurring and dissenting opinions in Johnson indicates four justices would go no further, at best, than permitting preferences for persons who are only marginally less qualified than the unpreferred candidate. Justice O'Connor agreed with the three Johnson dissenters that "an affirmative action program that automatically and blindly promotes those marginally qualified candidates falling within a preferred race or gender category . . . would violate Title VII" (p. 4390).

The Supreme Court's affirmative action cases of 1986 and 1987 settled a number of questions relating to affirmative action, avoided others, and generated some new ones. The surfeit of opinions concurring and dissenting in whole and in part, as well as the departure of Justices Burger and Powell, the transformation of the positions of five justices, the presence of issues touched and agreed upon by a majority aggregate (but not by majority opinion), the tension created between the Constitution and Title VII, and the lack of precise definitions of key concepts, promise continuing litigation. The goal: to clarify the preconditions and limits of affirmative action preferences.

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DEMOGRAPHIC FACTS AND EDUCATIONAL CONSEQUENCES IN THE FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES

Leobardo F. Estrada

Sun Belt states began to prosper at the expense of the older industrial-based states in the 1950s. These states experienced dramatic gains in population and industry in the 1960s, as its large towns grew into cities and the largest urban areas emerged as regional metropolitan centers. During the last two decades, the five southwestern states: Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas, have shared in the growth trends in population and economic development which have favored this part of the country.

In these same territories, Hispanic culture first gained a foothold in the northern hemisphere. The presence of Hispanic culture in the Southwest for over four centuries left an indelible mark upon the architecture, the cuisine, the language, the ranch/farm technologies and the systems of governance.

In the mid-19th century, these territories became the spoils of war or were sold to meet the expansionary needs of a youthful American nation expanding westward. This new nation imposed a significantly distinct cultural layer upon the existing society and its institutions. Among the changes introduced were new ideas regarding non-sectarian education, an Anglo-European influenced curriculum and dominance of the English language. Soon thereafter, Mexican origin persons who comprised most of the original settlers, found themselves as strangers in their own land. Often landless, excluded from roles of influence, and relegated to living in specified areas of the city, the barrio became a place of refuge from Anglo discrimination. Forced residential segregation was the foundation for the contemporary Latino population. Segregated residence created the need to develop parallel institutions, informal sub-economies and the maintenance of the Spanish language both as a buffer from the outside world, and as a socially functional behavior. In time, the Southwest became as segregated as the deep south states, with two important differences, slavery existed for only a brief period among Indians and the proximity of Mexico made it possible to escape from extreme forms of oppression. Two separate and unequal groups, the dominant Anglos and subordinant Mexicans and Indians coexisted through a system of accommodations including segregated school systems.

The 1960s represent a significant historical era in the Southwest when through a combination of litigation and protests heard from collective voices, the entrenched system began to give way. As is so often the case, the schools were one of the first and more controversial battlefields for advances in the civil rights struggle. The aftermath of the 1960s was an uneasy period for all students who were unaccustomed to one another's language and culture. Not surprisingly, the period of transition resulted in Hispanic students performing below the norm and experiencing higher levels of attrition and grade repetition. More than twenty years later, the situation has improved for Latinos in the southwestern states, however many of the issues which resulted in lower educational attainment for Latino students persist today despite the obvious gains in other areas.

As the end of the twentieth century approaches, the southwestern states appear to be well positioned for further prosperity, greater political power, and they have a central role in the emerging Pacific Rim global economy. Southwest industries and its labor force should prosper mutually if the industrial base remains flexible, continues to introduce new technologies, and is responsive to global and regional forces. Equally important to continued expansion is the presence of a literate and skilled labor force adaptable to the requirements of these developing industries or to work with the human and social services needs of the growing population.

For all groups to have an opportunity to participate in this dynamic mainstream economy, one must understand the demographic realities and their consequences on the educational institutions. The following sections attempt to provide a statistical portrayal of minorities in the Southwest and to consider the implications of these findings for educational institutions and the future labor force required for the continued prosperity of this region.

Growth and Prosperity in the Five Southwestern States

This section provides an economic overview of the five southwestern states. The five southwestern states, Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas, represent about 20 percent of the land mass and population of the United States but 30 percent of the total gross national produce (GNP) of the United States. There is a great deal of diversity and heterogeneity among the five southwestern states. Within this grouping of states is the first and third ranked most populous states (California and Texas) as well as some of the least densely populated areas of the nation (i.e., Colorado, Arizona and Mew Mexico). Likewise, among these states is the most metropolitan (California) and one of the least urban (New Mexico). The wide diversity between these states signals the need to consider the particular and unique statistical qualities of each State separately.

Sun Belt Growth

Growth and prosperity can be measured demographically by concentrating firstly, upon economic and demographic measures and secondly, by comparing these changes in population with the other forty five states. An appropriate beginning point is to focus on the population growth of the Southwest.

Between 1970 and 1980, the U.S. population grew by 11.4 percent, representing one of the smallest percent increases over a decade in the nation's history. That national figure can be compared to a percent change between 1970 and 1980 of 53.1 percent for Arizona, 30.8 percent for Colorado, 28.1 percent for New Mexico, 27.1 percent for Texas, and 18.5 percent for California (see Table 1). These remarkable gains in population in the Southwest over the last decade have several positive consequences such as an increased consumer and tax base and increased congressional representation after the 1990 reapportionment (an estimated gain of seven to eight additional seats for the five southwestern states in the House of Representatives). These same population gains also have some less welcome impacts as well such as requiring immediate investment for the expansion of the existing infrastructure and additional burdens on the provision of human and social services.

While these gains in population for the last decade are impressive, it is even more significant to realize that these rates of high growth are likely to be sustained for the next 15 years due to the potential for future population growth. This potential is evident in the indicators shown in Table 2 and 3. With the exception of California, the other southwest states are very youthful as noted by the low median age, high marriage rates and birth rates, and the low proportion of elderly persons and a correspondingly low death rate. Thus the growth in these states is not a one decade phenomena but rather the early part of a population boom which is likely to peak during the 1980s and then begin to diminish after the late 1990s.

A portion of the population growth in the Southwest can be attributed to natural increase (the excess of births minus deaths), however, an even larger portion of that growth is due to in-migrants either from abroad or from other areas of the U.S. Table 3 indicates that Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico had among the highest national rank in persons who migrated within the last five years. Many of those attracted to this region came in search of the job opportunities generated by the expanding Southwest economy. The relative national rankings for several economic indicators of the five southwestern states are shown in Table 4. California is ranked first in three of the five indicators. Texas is ranked in the top three of four of the five indicators and while the remaining states are not as highly ranked each has a distinctive area of economic strength (i.e., construction in Colorado, mineral production in Arizona and New Mexico). These indicators alone are insufficient to describe the diverse industrial and manufacturing mix, and the strength of the base economies, as well as the business leadership role served by the Southwest, Strong economic indicators like those illustrated here imply the presence of multiplicator effects such as increased employment, the creation of related service industries and an increased tax base.

Table 5 summarizes some of the information on employment and economic well-being of the five southwestern states. As would be expected, the civilian labor force is related to the size of the population, however, the low ranking of the unemployment rate for all the states is an indication of the healthy state of the economy in the region. Despite the obvious growth of the economy and stable economic indicators, the relative national rankings for the economic well-being indicators are not overly impressive. In fact, these findings lead one to question the wide spread benefits of the economic growth experienced in the Southwest. For example, California has a high ranking in per capita income as well as a moderately high ranking in unemployment and a low homeownership rate. New Mexico, Texas and Arizona have a high ranking in the number of persons in poverty. Colorado has a low homeownership rate despite having a fairly high rate of median household income. The lack of "trickle down" effect from the economy to the working head of household is eye opening. While thee summary findings allow only for a brief broadstroke statistical portrait of the five southwestern states, they point to a pattern of Southwest regional growth in population which is outstripping growth in the remainder of the country, and where the potential exists for the continuation of this growth trend. The regional economy is strong and expanding with enough jobs being generated to require a substantial influx of workers from other parts of the country. Despite these positive features, however, it is noted that the indicators of economic well-being did not appear to correspond to the prosperity that was evident in the general findings for the economy of the area. The following section disagregates some of the data by ethnicity to discern if the prosperity of southwestern states has perhaps been less beneficial to some groups than others.

Minority Growth and Participation in the Economy

While the five southwestern states have grown dramatically over the last two decades not all ethnic/racial groups have grown at similar rats. As shown in Chart 1, the White, non-Hispanic population of the Southwest is also relatively youthful and will continue to grow through the next decade before that growth trajectory begins to level off. Black population growth has leveled off considerably, due to the drastic decline in births and the slowing of black migration flows from the South and Midwest to the Southwest which previously accounted for a large portion of the increase in black population. Asian and Pacific Islanders have grown considerably due to the aftermath of the post-Vietnam Conflict which resulted in liberalizing the admittance of southeast Asians as refugees. The bulk of the refugee population has entered the U.S. and the trend in growth is expected to level off over the next few years. The American Indian population also exhibited a steady and constant high rate of growth over the last two decades. The most visible change has occurred among the Hispanic population whose estimated growth trajectory continues upward. By some estimates, ethnic/racial minority groups account for almost half of the population growth of the Southwest during the 1970s. There are exceptions to this trend, as in Arizona and New Mexico where the in-migration of white, non-Hispanic population is an equally important component of growth as minority population growth.

By the year 2000, it is expected that white, non-Hispanics who now comprise 67 percent o the southwestern population to fall 10 percentage points in their overall representation. Hispanics will gain five percentage points in their representation from 20 percent to 25 percent. Black representation will remain at about the same levels as it is presently, 9 percent. Asian representation will rise 1 percent, from 4 to 5 percent, and American Indians will increase their representation by 3 percentage points from 1 percent to 4 percent. Thus, by the year 2000, the major ethnic/racial minority groups will comprise just less than half (44 percent) of the southwestern population. By the year 2000, it is expected that California and New Mexico will once again have a "majority-minority" populations. The remaining southwest states will range from 20 to 40 percent in terms of their minority representation.

Table 6 shows the relative rankings of the five southwestern states according to their proportions of minority groups. The five states include the firs four rankings in Hispanic population and the second and fourth in American Indian population, the second rank in Asians, and the 17th rank in blacks among all the states.

The largest minority in the southwestern states is the Hispanic population. As indicated by Table 7, the growth of the

Hispanic population over the last fifty years has been rapid and dramatic. It took the Hispanic population over twenty years to double its size from 1930. It took about fifteen years for the 1950 Hispanic population to double itself, and the Southwest Hispanic population is now doubling about every 12 to 13 years.

This rate of growth is deserving of attention in terms of its overall effect on the future of the Southwest. An appropriate starting point is to consider the factors which explain that growth.

Youthfulness

The higher differential growth of minority groups can be directly attributed to the youthfulness of the minority populations. Youthfulness manifests itself demographically in the shape of population pyramid (broad bottom and narrow top) as indicated in Chart 2. Youthfulness can also be contrasted by comparing the median age of minority populations to the white, non-Hispanic population. For example, Hispanics are on the average 7 years younger than Anglos in California and New Mexico, 8 years younger in Texas and Colorado, and 9 years younger in Arizona. While these differences may not appear to be large at first glance, in demographic terms, these single digit differences represent vastly different growth potentials between Hispanics and non-Hispanics. Table 89 shows that the proportion of enrolled children is consistently higher. This pattern is associated with a lower median age and higher percent of youth than adults. Youthfulness alone accounts for a vast majority of the fertility differentials found between minority and non-minority populations in terms of the percentages of pre-teenage females about to enter the childbearing ages (9 to 14 years of age), the proportions of women presently in the peak child-bearing ages (15 to 34 years of age, and the proportion of women past the childbearing ages (45 years and over). Particularly significant are the effects of youthfulness and foreign birth which combined result in the highest levels of fertility.

Population Replenishment Through Immigration

While new births account for a large component of growth, the replenishment of the population through immigration cannot be overlooked. Immigration flows, both legal and undocumented, represent a means by which population growth can be accelerated. Immigration from Southeast Asia, for example, explains why the Asian and Pacific Islander population doubled in size during the 1970s. Such large immigration flows increased the median age of the Asian and Pacific Islander group and considerably shifted the ethnic and language demography. As the flow of Asian immigrants abates, the growth of the Asian population will stabilize as its increments become more dependent on growth through fertility.

At the other extreme, immigration has been a minor component of growth for the black population in the Southwest. Immigration flows of blacks from the Virgin Islands, Jamaica, Haiti and Northern Africa has had a minor impact in the Southwest since most of this immigrant flow has been directed toward the Northeast and Southeastern U.S.

Immigration furthermore is an irrelevant component of growth for American Indians. However, with the more recent immigrant flows from isolated rural areas of Central America, distinctive indigenous people have been introduced into the continental U.S. These Indian groups, however, are usually enumerated within the Hispanic origin population rather than the Native American population.

Finally, where there is no question that immigration has historically been an important component of growth among the Hispanic origin population. These historical flows of immigrants from Mexico and Latin America coupled with the above average levels of fertility have fueled Hispanic growth for decades. Today, legal immigration from Mexico and Latin America accounts for one-fourth of all legal immigration and aN unknown but assumed high proportion of undocumented immigration. The magnitude of short term, temporary immigration flows from Mexico are believed to be very large, representing perhaps between eight to ten million entries and exits annually. For the most part, this flow is of workers who have little or no intention of remaining in the U.S. on a permanent basis. The primary goals of short term immigration are seasonal or short term employment, accumulation of savings, and return to their country of origin to invest those savings in property, housing, to pursue education or to provide living expenses. A small proportion of undocumented immigrants from the large and constant immigration flow "settle out" and become part of the foreign born, permanent resident population of the U.S. The selectivity of those who opt to become permanent residents of the U.S. is in all likelihood related to their success in finding secure employment and family reunification on the U.S. side.

Despite the long historical nature of Hispanic immigration, new elements have been introduced over the last fifteen years which have changed the composition and the intensity of the immigrant flow. First, is the introduction of a large segment of immigrants from Central America into the flow, the vast majority of whom expect to remain in the U.S. for a lengthy period of time as is generally the rule for longer-distance immigrants. Immigration from Central America also brings forth new issues into this already complex process such as political refugee status, human rights concerns, and other questions resulting from the political and economic upheavals in Central America. Secondly, is the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1987 which combines a program of amnesty for undocumented persons who have been in "continuous residence", since January 1, 1982, with a provision for stronger enforcement against employers who hire undocumented workers. This new legislation is just now being implemented and it is too early in the process to evaluate its consequences. However, there are a few issues that can be raised regarding this new law. For example, it is clear that the amnesty provision will allow few Central American immigrants to qualify since the bulk of that immigration occurred after 1980, thus, the most recent immigrants from Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala will soon become the most vulnerable immigrants. Employer sanctions, if enforced to the extent that this law allows, is likely to lower the level of temporary short term immigration and increase the level of long term immigration from Mexico. Finally, recent reports have noted the lower than expected amnesty registration rate. At this point, it is not clear if the registration rate is "low" due to the overestimation of undocumented immigration on which the rates are being judged, or due to other factors such as an overly stringent eligibility criteria, or due to the potentia splitting of families when only some fraction of a family unit is eligible for amnesty. Many of these issues will be clarified as the "window of opportunity" for amnesty registration draws nearer to a close at the end of April, 1988.

Immigration flows have proven to be unpredictable in the past. No one foresaw the extent of immigration from Cuba in the late 1960s, the sudden end to the Vietnam Conflict, the overnight influx from the Mariel boat lifts in 1980, the fall of the Shah of Iran, the oil boom collapse in Mexico in the 1970s, the civil strife in El Salvador and Nicaragua, the end of the Marcos regime in the Philippines or the general recession throughout Latin America due to foreign debt obligations. Yet each of these events, among others, has led to increased immigrant flows from other nations to the U.S.

As we reach the end of the 1980s, the foreign born population of the Southwest is 65 percent Hispanic, particularly of Mexican origin, 15 percent of Asian origin and the remaining 20 percent from other origins (Table 9). California is the preferred residence for one of every four foreign born persons in the U.S. and for one of every two foreign born persons in the Southwest.

Texas follows behind with 32 percent of the Southwest foreign born population. Arizona, Colorado and New Mexico combined have 18 percent of the Southwest foreign born population. Thus it is in California, and Texas and the metropolitan areas of Arizona where it would be expected that immigration issues are the most visible and most intensely felt. It is in these areas where non-English language usage, for example, is most likely to occur.

Language

Recency of immigration is obviously related to non-English language usage. What is less obvious, to many is the persistence and maintenance of non-English languages among longer term residents and a high proportion of native born persons. Table 10 shows clearly that the Southwest population is largely English dominant with the range of English only speakers from a low of 62 percent in New Mexico to a high of 89 percent in Colorado. spanish is the non-English language most spoken in the Southwest. Colorado has the lowest proportion of Spanish speakers, 7 percent and New Mexico the highest with 30 percent. Other languages other than Spanish spoken are found in significant proportions in California (mostly Asian languages,but also includes German, French, and Eastern European languages), and New Mexico and Arizona (largely American Indian dialects).

Among school age children, the highest proportion of Spanish speakers are found in New Mexico and Texas. 27 percent and 24 percent, respectively. The lowest proportion of Spanish speaking students are in Colorado (6 percent).

The variation in the number of Spanish speakers reflects the size of the immigration population and also appears to be associated with more isolated rural areas. In addition, language use is also associated with the availability of non-English language media, work related use, and frequency of visits abroad. One of the more remarkable aspect of non-English language use is that with the exception of Hebrew, and some Arabic languages, the instruction for most of these languages is informal and based on an oral rather than a written tradition. Non-English language use among native born residents is indicative of the continued function of Spanish, for example, as an asset in the marketplace where workers must have a lot of contact with the public (e.g., the preference for bilingual workers as salesworkers, social workers, telephone operators, typesetters, secretaries and receptionists, etc.,).

Extensive immigration such as that experienced over the past two decades reinforces language in that the presence of immigrants leads to the growing demand for more bilingual workers in order to serve that linguistic group. Those efforts to serve the potential spanish language market led to increased media efforts which leads to additional exposure and use which leads to the maintenance of that market and a repeat of that cycle. In sum, the size of the Hispanic market is such that Spanish language use is likely to continue to be promoted both from within the community as a cultural tradition as well as external to the community by major consumer industries interested in tapping the consumer base of this linguistic community.

Geographic Concentration

Within the continental U.S., the vast majority of Hispanics are concentrated in nine of the fifty states. Within those nine states, Hispanics are largely concentrated in urban areas, and within those urban area, Hispanics are found in concentrated enclaves. Asian and Pacific Islanders are mostly located in the large metropolitan cities of California and New York. Blacks are among the most likely inner city dwellers of most of America's cities. Finally, the vast majority of American Indians are residents of the Southwest although their residence is more dispersed both in rural areas and urban areas. As indicated earlier, one of every three persons in the Southwest is a member of one of the major minority groups. Each of the minority groups has its own settlement patterns, but all are being affected by common trends: a) the scarcity of affordable housing, b) gentrification of older neighborhoods, c) suburbanization by middle class minority families, and d) the emergence of new minority enclaves as the number of families exceed the available housing stock and seek out new areas for housing. Geographic concentration results in heavily segregated schools, efficient targeting of services, and community identification. Likewise, geographic concentration holds the potential for isolating residents from the mainstream, restricting the flow of information, and finally, intensifying the impact of poverty, language use ,and immigrant adaptation.

One of every five persons in the U.S. is a minority, but in the southwestern states, one of every three persons is a minority. Despite the large land mass, the concentration of minorities in this area further signals to the essential need to understand the role that minorities will be able to play in the future. Given the role of education as a basic step in the preparation of a future labor force, the next section will concentrate on educational achievement by minorities in the Southwest.

Minorities in the Educational System

Educational indicators are provided in Table 11 for the five southwestern states. This information makes it clear that in the selected indicators, the Southwest doe not fare well by comparison. For example, the Southwest has no State ranked higher than 21st in high school graduation in 1982. By 1984, the highest ranking obtained was 31st, Surprisingly, these states rank very high in terms of undergraduate enrollment, while their ranking in high school graduates over the age of 25 is relatively low.

Part of the reason for the below par performance in education can be explained by Table 12, where it becomes clear that the Southwest states have fallen further behind in school

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expenditures relative to other states. In general, New Mexico ranked highly in terms of per capita income spent on education, Texas ranks first in terms of percent of total State expenditures, Colorado ranked 12th in terms of per pupil expenditures in 1979-1980. Colorado's rank slipped slightly from 12th to 14th relative to all other states by 1985-1986. And finally, it is noted that on per pupil expenditures, all the southwestern states fell from their previous ranking: Texas fell 10 ranks, California fell by 8 rankings, New Mexico fell by 5 ranks, Arizona fell by 4 rankings, and Colorado fell by 2 ranks. These losses in ranks are indicative of weakened educational systems, which are facing severe budget constraints. Finally, Table 13 illustrates the poor performance of some minority groups in the State educational systems. As can be quickly noted, despite comprising a significant proportion of Hispanic enrollment, the percent of high school graduates is dismally poor with only the youngest age group succeeding in producing a graduation rate exceeding 50 percent.

Conclusions

The Southerwestern states are paradoxical. They represent a bright economic future and an uneven performance in preparing its youth to take advantage of that future. The students who will comprise the entering college class of the year 2006 will be born this year. The educational system through which they must pass was designed for a non-minority middle class student body. Over the past few years, the school system has been in transition both structurally and in terms of its student composition. The transformation of the school system has been slow and cautious but the composition of foreign born, limited English proficiency, and non-traditional students is accelerating at an increasing rate. Whether the school system will adjust soon enough to provide a skilled, literate, and prepared worker for this promising environment remains a question.

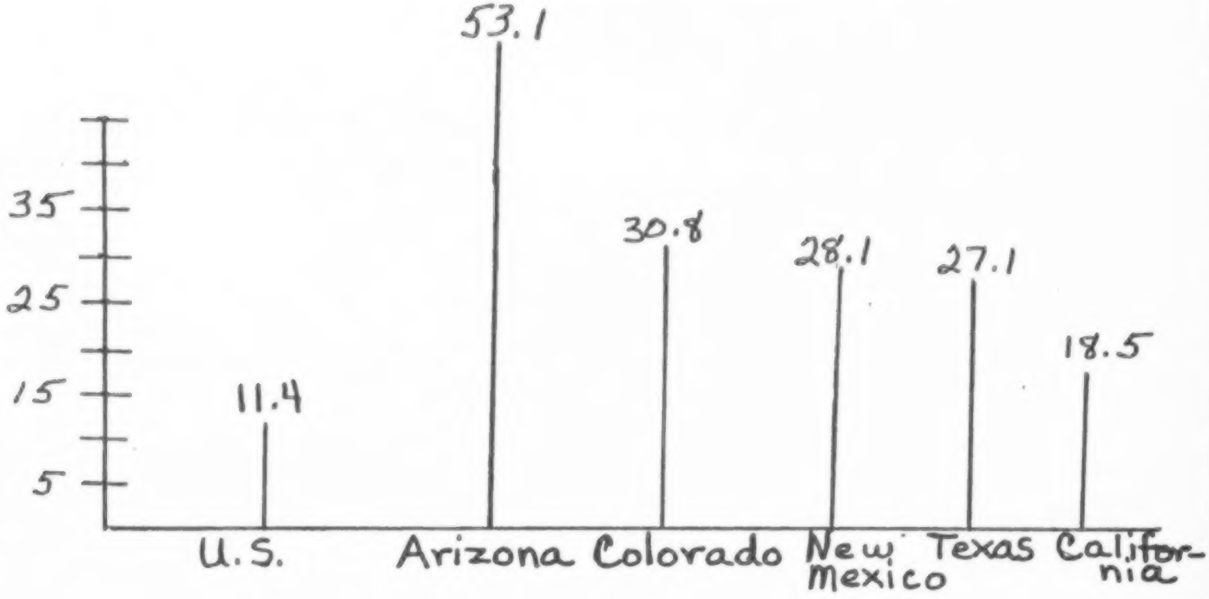
The extant attrition rates are unequestionably a scandal and a tragedy. Among the successful cases are many who are unprepared for the entrance to the world of work. And among those who avoid the pitfalls, the lack of a smooth transition from secondary to postsecondary levels of education is a matter of institutional failure. The loss of human resources due to the failures of the educational system at all levels can no longer be tolerated by a region whose economic requirements for skilled labor are increasing. There will continue to be many jobs available for the less skilled worker, but the Southwest can no longer tolerate divisions by residence, by good jobs and bad jobs, by employment opportunities, etc. according to ethnic and racial groupings. The twenty-first century requires that the burgeoning minority populations enter the economic mainstream on equal terms and with equal opportunities to attain their full potential. If this is possible, it will occur because the educational systems will fulfill its responsibilities to provide each child with an opportunity to take part in the bright future of the Southwest.

Table 1

Population Growth 1970 to 1980

Percent Change, U.S. and

Five Southwestern States



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Number of Inhabitants, 1980 Census of Population and Housing P (A)-1, 1981.

Table 2
Age Composition, 1980

	California		Texas		New Mexico		Arizona		Colorado	
	White Non-Hispanic	Minority	White Non-Hispanic	Minority	White Non-Hispanic	Minority	White Non-Hispanic	Minority	White Non-Hispanic	Minority
Pre School (0-4)	51.6	48.4	54.6	45.3	40.4	60.0	61.0	39.0	75.3	24.6
Primary School (5-9)	53.9	46.0	54.9	44.9	41.4	58.5	62.9	37.1	75.9	24.0
Primary School (10-14)	58.4	41.5	56.9	42.9	42.7	57.2	65.5	34.5	77.8	22.2
High School (15-19)	60.9	39.2	59.8	40.0	44.2	55.7	67.7	32.3	78.8	21.3
Post Secondary (20-24)	62.2	37.8	63.4	36.3	48.8	51.0	72.2	27.9	81.2	18.7
Young Adult (25-29)	64.0	36.1	65.3	34.5	53.4	46.5	73.9	26.1	83.3	16.7
Adult (30-34)	67.2	32.9	67.5	32.3	55.7	44.0	76.1	23.8	84.7	15.2
Mature Adult (35+)	75.6	24.4	73.9	25.9	62.7	37.2	83.0	17.0	87.2	12.7
Total	66.6	33.4	65.7	34.1	52.6	47.1	74.5	25.4	82.7	17.4

Source: Kaufman, et al., The Changing Demographics of the Southwest: Data and Issues Relating to Minority Representation in Post Secondary Education in Seven Southwest States (Boulder, Co: WICHE, 1983)

Table 3

Population Growth Potential Indicators
Relative National Rankings for Five Southwestern States
(1980)

	California	Texas	Colorado	Arizona	New Mexico
Median Age (high ↓)	20th	42nd	38th	30th	46th
Population 65+ (high ↓)	34th	38th	45th	23rd	44th
Persons living elsewhere 5 years ago (↓)	38th	25th	5th	4th	9th
Birth Rate (high ↓)	19th	9th	17th	8th	5th
Death Rate (low ↑)	39th	41st	47th	42nd	46th
Marriage Rate (high ↓)	35th	6th	16th	18th	13th

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, City County Data Book, 1980.

Table 4

Sun Belt Economic Growth:
Relative National Rankings for Five Southwestern States

	California	Texas	Colorado	Arizona	New Mexico
Gross Farm Income	1st	3rd	16th	32nd	36th
Mineral Production	3rd	1st	14th	15th	8th
Construction Contracts	1st	2nd	8th	18th	31st
Manufacturing Shipments	1st	2nd	32nd	35th	45th
Retail Sales Per Capita	8th	14th	7th	24th	30th

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, City and County Date Book, 1980.

Table 5

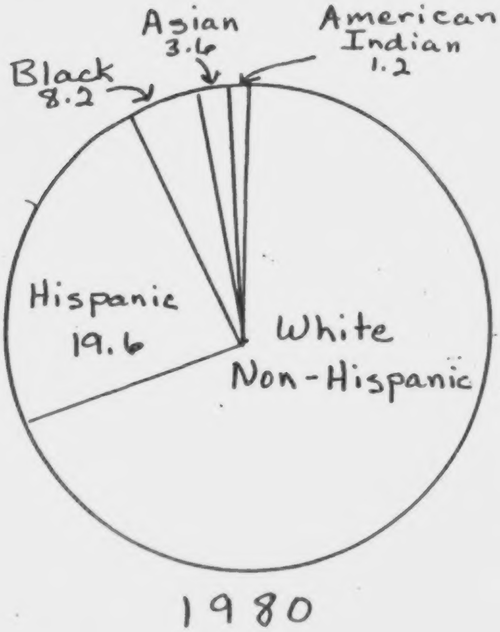
Economic Well-Being
Relative National Rankings for Five Southwestern States
(1980)

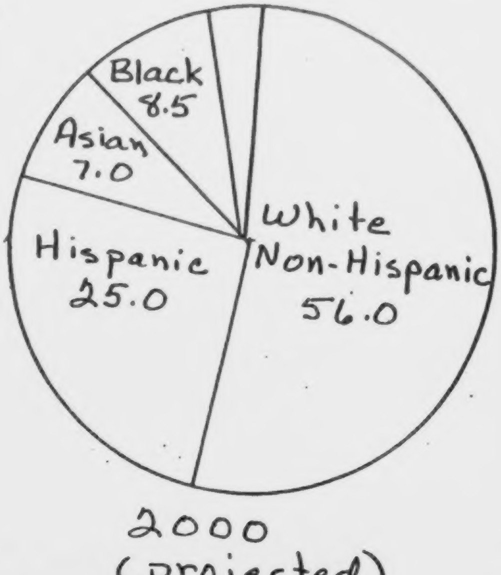
	California	Texas	Colorado	Arizona	New Mexico
Total Population	1st	3rd	28th	29th	37th
Civilian Labor Force,	1st	3rd	25th	30th	37th
Unemployment Rate (↓)	23rd	43rd	41st	37th	25th
Median Household Income (↓)	10th	25th		27th	41st
Per Capital Money Income (↓)	4th	23rd		27th	43rd
Homeownership Rate (↓)	48th	39th	38th	28th	31st
Percent Below Poverty					
Persons (↓)	26th	13th		17th	5th
Children under 18 (↑)	20th	12th		16th	5th

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, City and County Data Book, 1980.

Chart 1

Ethnic Composition: 1980 and 2000
Five Southwestern States





Ethnic Diversity: Five Southwestern States

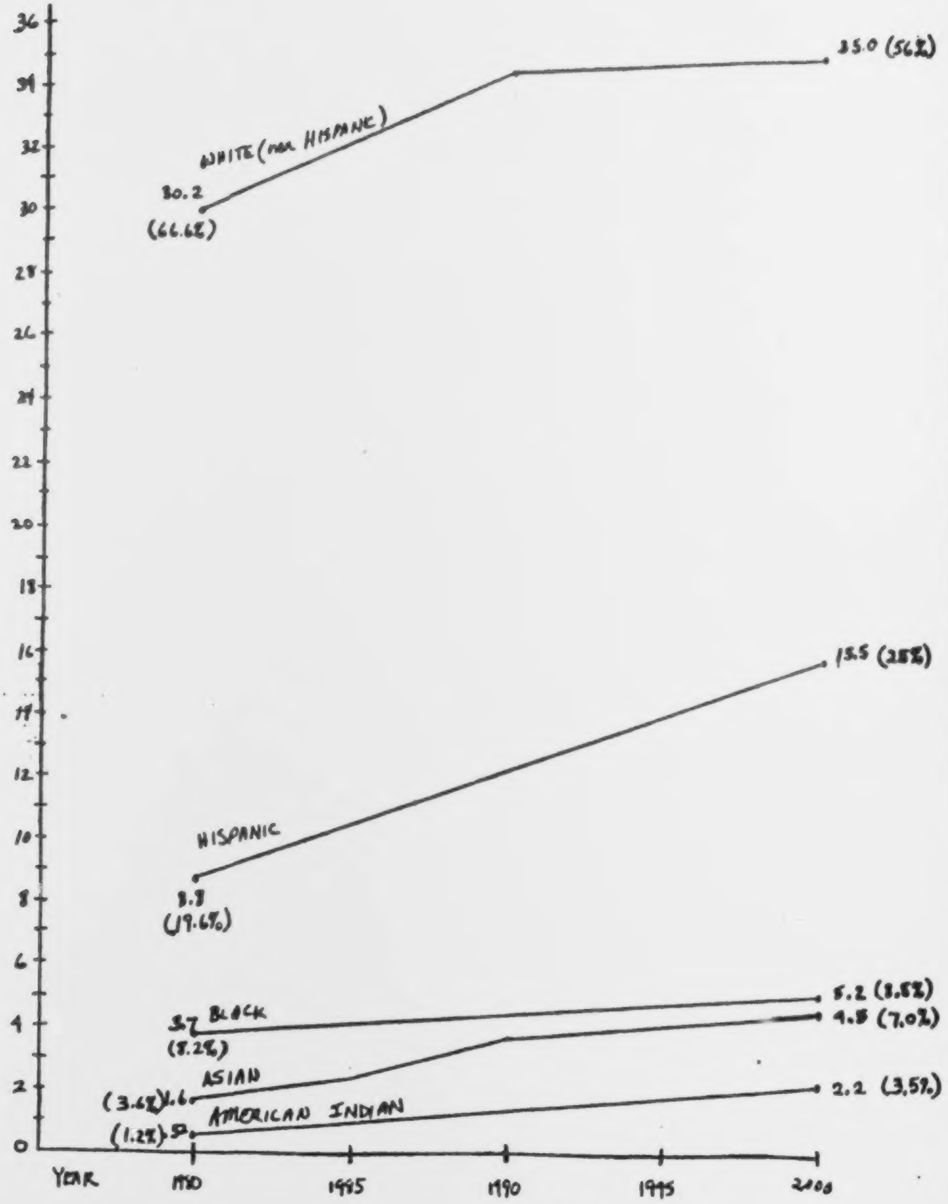


Table 6

Ethnic Composition
Relative National Rankings for Five Southwestern States

	California	Texas	Colorado	Arizona	New Mexico
% Black Population	21st	17th	27th	35th	37th
% Asian and Pacific Islanders	2nd	15th	30th	15th	27th
% American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut	15th	24th	12th	4th	2nd
% Hispanic	3rd	2nd	18th	4th	1st

Table 7

Hispanic Population, Five Southwestern States, 1930 to 1990

	Total	California	Texas	New Mexico	Arizona	Colorado
1930, Mexicans	1,282,833	368,013	638,681	59,340	114,173	57,676
1940, Sp. Mother Tongue	1,570,740	416,140	728,440	221,740	101,880	92,540
1950, Sp. Surname	2,281,710	758,400	1,027,455	248,560	128,580	118,715
1960, Sp. Surname	3,464,999	1,426,538	1,417,810	269,122	194,356	157,173
1970, Sp. Origin	5,008,556	2,369,292	1,840,648	308,340	264,770	225,506
1980, Sp. Origin	8,790,593	4,544,331	2,985,824	477,222	440,701	339,717
1990, (projected)	11,900,000	5,900,000	4,400,000	560,000	600,000	450,000

Table 8

Representation of Minority Groups in Population in 1980 and Enrollment in Public Schools K-12 in 1987 Five Southwestern States

	Total Minority		Hispanic		Black		Asian		American Indian	
	% Pop.	% Enrolled	% Pop.	% Enrolled	% Pop.	% Enrolled	% Pop.	% Enrolled	% Pop.	% Enrolled
Arizona	25.5	37.7	16.2	21.5	2.7	3.8	0.9	1.1	5.6	11.3
California	33.4	48.0	19.2	29.2	7.5	10.1	5.8	8.1	0.9	0.6
Colorado	17.3	23.5	11.8	15.7	3.5	5.1	1.5	2.1	0.6	0.6
New Mexico	47.4	55.5	36.6	43.4	1.7	2.2	0.7	0.7	8.1	8.7
Texas	34.3	43.3	21.0	27.9	11.8	13.9	1.0	1.4	0.3	0.1
Total	32.6		19.6		8.2		3.6		1.2	

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 and U.S. Department of Education Digest of Educational Statistics, 1987.

Table 9

Foreign Born Population
Five Southwestern Sates, 1980

	California	Texas	New Mexico	Arizona	Colorado
TOTAL					
Percent of State that is foreign-born	15.1	6.0	2.0	6.0	4.0
Percent of Hispanics that are foreign-born	37.0	19.0	6.0	16.5	7.0
FOREIGN BORN	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Hispanic					
Asian					
Black					
Other					

Table 10

Language Populations
Five Southwestern States, 1980

	California	Texas	Colorado	Arizona	New Mexico
TOTAL ALL AGES	21,969,725	13,064,596	2,673,872	2,505,455	1,188,276
% Speak only English	77.4	78.2	89.4	79.8	62.1
% Speak Spanish	14.3	19.0	6.7	13.3	29.7
% Speak Other Languages	8.4	2.8	3.9	7.0	8.2
TOTAL 5-17 YEARS OF AGE	4,685,403	3,143,074	593,914	578,750	303,120
% Speak only English	77.0	74.4	92.0	77.5	63.4
% Speak Spanish	17.2	23.9	5.6	15.3	27.4
% Speak Other Languages	5.8	1.7	2.4	7.2	9.1

Table 11

Educational Indicators
Relative National Rankings for Five Southwestern States

	California	Texas	Colorado	Arizona	New Mexico
% High School Graduates (person 25+)	11th	38th	3rd	15th	22nd
Undergraduate enrollment in higher education	1st	3rd	26th	18th	38th
High School Graduation Rate					
1982	44th	41st	21st	41st	35th
1984	50th	42nd	31st	43rd	34th

Table 12

School Expenditures
Five Southwestern States

	California	Texas	Arizona	Colorado	New Mexico
STATE AND LOCAL REVENUE FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS					
Per $1,000 of personal income in 1984	$33.69	$42.26	$37.27	$44.58	$51.56
RANK	47th	21st	34th	14th	5th
As Percent of Total General Expenditures for All Functions 1983-84	32.2	42.8	38.6	38.2	38.1
RANK	42nd	1st	13th	18th	19th
Per Pupil Expenditures, 1979-80	$2,594	$1,955	$1,914	$2,656	$2,219
RANK	15th	38th	39th	12th	24th
Per Pupil Expenditures, 1985-86	$3,608	$3,429	$2,829	$4,042	$3,402
RANK	23rd	28th	43rd	14th	29th

Table 13

Hispanic Population, 1980
Five Southwestern States

	California	Texas	New Mexico	Arizona	Colorado
TOTAL HISPANIC	4,543,770	2,985,643	476,089	440,915	339,300
% of U.S. Hispanic Population	33.1	20.5	3.3	3.0	2.3
% Hispanic Enrollments, K-12	25.3	27.3	44.1	22.0	16.0
% of Hispanic High School Graduates					
18 to 19 years	42.3	35.1	56.9	45.9	45.9
male	38.6	31.9	52.8	44.3	42.8
female	46.3	38.6	60.8	46.3	49.0
20+ years	55.2	57.9	72.4	64.0	65.9
% of Hispanic College Graduates	6.1	6.8	7.6	8.5	7.4

MINORITY DEGREE ACHIEVEMENT AND THE STATE POLICY ENVIRONMENT

Patrick Callan

Since the 1984 report Involvement in Learning focused public policy makers' attention on the quality of undergraduate education, we have seen a steady stream of studies and reports that have asked fundamental questions about the higher education enterprise. All have made valuable contributions to the debate. However, while calling attention to such timely and often urgent considerations, these reports have failed to break new ground on the troubled issue of the participation and success of minorities in higher education and the appropriate role of state policy. Now, midway through the 1980s it is appropriate that we stop and consider what forces are already at work and on the horizon that make the role of state policy more critical than ever before.

Although there is an important role for federal, and institutional leadership, the purpose of this paper is to focus on the specific role of the states and state policy makers in enhancing minority achievement in higher education. Focusing attention on the role of the states seems particularly appropriate to this decade. Ten to 15 years ago, an essay on state policy probably would have been inappropriate in a collection of papers looking at the participation of minorities in higher education. Today, states play a more central role in educational policy leadership.

In this paper I will discuss the impetus for state involvement in the issue of minority participation in higher education, describe a number of state initiatives in this area, and comment on several aspects of the state policy environment for improving minority participation. The paper relies heavily on information from a recent survey of state higher education boards and commissioners conducted by the State Higher Education Executive Officers (SHEEO) and cosponsored by the Education Commission of the States (ECS). It is augmented by follow-up interviews in five states; the report of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE) From Minority to Majority: Education and the Future of the Southwest (1987); and the report of the SHEEO Task Force on Minority Student

Achievement A Difference of Degrees: State Initiatives to Improve Minority Student Achievement (1987). While I have benefited and learned from all this work, and borrowed from it liberally, the conclusions, opinions, and recommendations are mine.

The States Role in Minority Participation in Higher Education

A state's interest in full participation of minorities in higher education is a logical outgrowth of the elementary and secondary reform movement of the 1980s. Governors, legislators, and any number of blue-ribbon commissions have taken the leadership in addressing issues of quality and effectiveness that cross the traditional boundaries between high school and higher education. New high school graduation requirements, for example, were followed in some states by tougher admission standards for public colleges and universities.

States have developed new capacities for educational policy leadership. And even if, as some have predicted, the federal government should reassert itself in educational policy and support late in this decade, the constraints of a huge federal budget deficit will remain. State policy direction and initiatives are likely to continue for some time.

Initially, states did not respond as aggressively to the needs of the educationally disadvantaged and underrepresented as they did to the problems of standards and quality. The nation is accustomed to looking to the federal government for leadership in matters of educational equity. Likewise, first attempts by the states to improve the quality of higher education did not emphasize minority participation or persistence in colleges and universities. More recently, however, a number of states have taken steps to address these issues.

One reason for greater attention and interest in minority participation is that states have recognized the reality of changing demographics as they seek to compete with each other and with other nations for new jobs and for economic growth. The productivity or competence of the work force is perceived as a major weapon in that competition. Demographic projections show a decline in the number of young people available to enter the U.S. work force. A growing proportion of that population belong to ethnic groups, which have been the least successful in the educational system (ACE-FEOL-IEL 1983). The prospects for economic growth in many states, therefore, are directly related to minorities' prospects for success in graduating from high school and completing some form of postsecondary education, including graduate and professional studies. While economists argue about the educational level required by the new jobs likely to be created, it is unlikely that states with poorly educated young people, and those struggling with the high costs of providing for unproductive populations, will be successful in competing for the most attractive jobs and industries.

In light of the changing focus of education policy leadership in the 1980s, the economic aspirations and demographic projections of many of the states suggest a specific role for state leadership in regard to minority success in higher education. This role is rooted in traditional social justice concerns augmented by the pragmatic urgency of state economic development.

How Are States Responding?

One way to begin assessing the response to issues of minority participation is to identify state policy initiatives targeted at minorities. Thirty-three states participated in the SHEEO-ECS survey, which asked higher education boards and commissions to provide information on state initiatives and programs to improve minority enrollment and achievement in higher education. Because our primary interest was in state policy leadership, the survey was limited to statewide and systemwide programs and policies. It did not request or collect information on federal programs or on institution-specific programs. To supplement the survey, ECS conducted follow-up interviews in five states. The survey and interviews identified a variety of policies, programs, and strategies put into place by state governments.

Some common strategies listed by the states, with examples from interviews, follow:

> Outreach to Schools (identified by 17 states). Florida's College Reach-Out Program uses the resources of state universities and community colleges to strengthen the educational motivation and preparation of low-income or disadvantaged middle school and high school students. The six major types of activities used by the colleges and universities to implement the program include slides/tapes, student trips to campuses, role models, workshops/enrichment, tutoring/counseling and home and school visitations.
>
> Graduate and Professional School Recruitment and Retention (17 states representing a solid cross-section of the country). The Chicago Area Health and Medical Careers Program has been funded by state grants from the Illinois Board of Higher Education and by private foundations. The goal is to increase minority participation in medicine or other health professions. Students are selected in their junior year in high school and are monitored for the next five years until

entry in medical school. The program consists of summer courses, counseling, tutorial assistance, and internships with minority health professionals. Among the first 300 participants, 90 have enrolled in medical school.

In Tennessee, the Pre-Professional Program provides counseling and instructional activities to selected Black undergraduates who desire to enter professional programs at state institutions.

Comprehensive Services (20 states). Texas has a number of new and existing student retention programs, including tutoring/special support services, developmental courses, testing for placement, minority cultural organizations, career planning and placement services, and psychological counseling.

Preparatory Efforts (16 states). In New Jersey, the state department of higher education sponsors precollege academic programs in urban areas to strengthen the basic skills and subject-matter preparation of disadvantaged high school students. The goal is to motivate these students to attend college and seek careers in fields where minorities are underrepresented. The department also supports three intensive academic skills centers, which serve adults and others who require remedial instruction prior to attempting regular basic skills remediation programs at selected state colleges.

Financial Aid (10 states). The Illinois Monetary Award Program provides need-based financial aid to state residents enrolled in undergraduate programs in public and private institutions. More than 100,000 students receive awards, of which more than 40 percent in recent years have been minority students.

Illinois sponsors the Medical Scholarship Program, supported by state funds budgeted by the board since 1985 and administered by the State Department of Public Health. Scholarships are provided for students who agree to practice medicine in areas of the state demonstrating the greatest need. Students receive support for medical school tuition, fees, and a stipend for living expenses. Over the past three years, 186 scholarships have been awarded, 43 percent to minorities.

The statewide Consortium for Educational Opportunity Program was funded by the Illinois legislature beginning in 1986. It provides financial assistance to help minority students obtain graduate or professional degrees in exchange for a commitment to pursue teaching or administrative employment in public higher education. To date, 46 minority students have received awards up to $10,000 each.

Faculty/Administrator Development Programs (14 states). The Employee Grant-in-Aid Program is a "grow-your-own" program designed to increase the pool of qualified faculty and staff in Florida's public colleges and universities. Recipients are granted one year of educational leave with full pay and benefits in exchange for a commitment of employment. Support staff receive educational stipends. In addition, the university receives $16,000 to help defray the costs of hiring temporary replacement personnel.

New Jersey's Minority Academic Career Program makes grants and loans available to members of minority groups who wish to teach at a state college or university after obtaining their doctoral degrees. Four years of collegiate-level teaching will redeem the full amount of their loans. In addition the Hispanic Leadership Fellow Program in New Jersey was established in 1983 by the department of education in cooperation with the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, with three-year funding from the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education. This program provides broad-based leadership and management training to Hispanic higher education professionals.

Strategies that are less commonly in use, but critical to addressing the full participation of minorities in higher education include:

Monitoring Mechanisms (6 states). New Jersey's full participation initiatives are linked closely to elementary and secondary education reforms enacted under the stewardship of an active "education governor," Thomas H. Kean. and T. Edward Hollander, chancellor of higher education, has issued a five-year plan placing minority participation on the front burner. The state board of higher education has already asked all colleges and universities to submit plans for continued improvement in the areas of minority access and achievement. That request is tied to the institutional budgeting process. Essentially, any institution failing to collect and provide this data places its budget in jeopardy. Jose Vega, director of bilingual and international education, states:

> The growing awareness of the number of minorities entering our public higher education institutions led us to place this issue high on the agenda; state-level leadership is very important to keeping this issue on the agenda. In our case, the role of our chancellor and our governor has moved us in very proactive and constructive directions.

Transfer Student Articulation Programs (4 states). Only four states listed articulation between community colleges and senior institutions as a high priority -- two are home to sizeable Hispanic populations; one experiences considerable migrant, mainly seasonal, labor populations. The majority of states lacking comprehensive strategies are in the American Southwest where, according to WICHE, the greatest need is concentrated.

A survey of this type does not lend itself to definitive conclusions; this would require in-depth research in the states with more detailed analyses of programs, policies, and strategies. Nonetheless, strong impressions arise from the survey and interviews. First, state-level activity and interest in minority participation in higher education are considerable. States are supporting a large number and variety of initiatives and programs. However, even the states that have sponsored programs for several years know little about program success or effectiveness. States could be doing more, and encouraging colleges and universities to do more, in program evaluation and in the dissemination of information about successful programs.

In addition, accountability is an important tool, not just for special programs but for institutions as well. Some states are finding ways to hold the leaders of colleges and universities accountable for attracting and retaining minority students and for the success of special programs for this purpose. There is growing recognition that accountability mechanisms should place the burden of progress on the entire institution. While special programs have an important role to play in many states and institutions, they are no substitute for a commitment to minority achievement throughout the institution.

Accountability also means careful monitoring by colleges, universities, and the state government. Minority participation in higher education is one of the critical educational and social policy issues facing the United States. Yet as a recent SHEEO-ECS report (1987) noted:

> We have been greatly disturbed by the lack of current data on enrollments, degrees and other facets of American higher

> education that provide a portrait of the progress made by minorities. With the enormity of the task facing American higher education in evaluating its success in the recruitment, retention and graduation of minorities, this should no longer be tolerated. Too often the parties involved -- the institutions which collect the data, the states which compile it and the federal government which reports it -- have approached the issue from a "compliance" perspective (Focus on Minorities: Trends in Higher Education Participation and Success, p. v).

There is growing recognition that accountability reports written only to comply with regulations will, at best, only make us more effective at documenting our failures. Each state and institution should have a set of benchmarks as the basis for ongoing productive discussions -- both within institutions and between institutions and state leaders -- on ways to replicate our successes and minimize our failures. We must ensure creative energy will go into serving students, not into writing reports.

With respect to programs, some states are beginning to recognize that accountability measures should encourage colleges and universities to enlarge the pool of students who are better prepared for college. States and institutions should take steps to strengthen or eliminate weak programs. Programs that do not improve student achievement but have been protected because they are seen as symbols of state or institutional commitment should be reevaluated vigorously.

Finally, some states that reported minority initiatives were under court-mandated desegregation requirements; others were responding to policy initiatives. In both instances, particularly when the policy initiatives came from the governor and legislature, there was concern at the state level about the development of an "institutional-compliance syndrome." If state initiatives fail to arouse institutional commitment, they may simply be regarded as one more type of regulatory or legal intrusion.

Conclusion

The effectiveness of state policy in improving minority participation in higher education will not depend on the number of programs, although programs are needed, or the number of dollars, though financial support is needed. Rather, the success of state policy will be measured by the commitment of institutions and their progress in increasing minority participation, retention, and achievement. State policy leadership should address realistically the failures of the past quarter century, including: (1) the failure to recognize and deal with the problem of poor student preparation at the elementary and secondary levels; and (2) the emphasis on access to higher education without adequate attention to persistence and achievement through a sustained state commitment. Without a sustained commitment, which must be shared by governors, legislators, and state higher education boards and commissions, there is every likelihood that the experiences of the 1960s and 1970s will be repeated -- a burst of program funding activity followed by modest improvements, then a leveling off and decline in progress as institutions and governments move on to other agendas. The leadership role of state higher education boards is particularly critical. These boards are in a position to make minority participation and achievement a major state issue. New Jersey's Governor Kean, perhaps the most outspoken of current governors on this issue, has asserted that:

> Boards of higher education should press public institutions to define plans to bring minorities on campus. And they shouldn't be afraid of putting some teeth into those requirements. In New Jersey, we stopped funding the programs, of colleges that hadn't made progress. Believe me that is one *sine qua non* that gets results.

In the summer of 1987, a SHEEO task force issued a similar and more comprehensive call for leadership for minority achievement on the part of these boards. The task force recommended that:

> SHEEOs should make the issue of minority student achievement a preeminent concern for the higher education community within their states.
>
> SHEEOs should put in place a formal institutional planning and reporting process dedicated to improving minority student access and achievement.
>
> SHEEOs should be creative and persistent in their search for resources to support minority-related programming, and they should make special efforts to pursue cooperative ventures in this regard.
>
> SHEEOs and higher educators, in general, should actively pursue more aggressive involvement with elementary and secondary education.
>
> SHEEOs should support institutional programming that meets two equally important ends: equipping minority students to function well in an institutional environment and having them adapt that environment to accommodate their needs and interests.

The SHEEO task force report is the clearest and most challenging statement to date on the responsibilities of the states for improving minority student participation and achievement. In addition to those recommendations, the report addressed the affordability of higher education, the need for more flexible and effective means of assessing students' potential for success in higher education, and the importance of developing programs that will encourage and improve minority participation in the professional faculties and staffs of colleges and universities.

The underlying theme of the report is the need to make minority student achievement a top state and institutional priority. Then the policy tools -- new programs and funding, incentives, accountability and, when appropriate, sanctions -- used by states in other areas of major policy concern can be brought to bear on this issue. The key to this activity at the state level is sustained institutional commitment. This objective requires that states use their policy and fiscal tools in ways that stimulate and apply leverage to institutional leadership while insisting on results. It means state leaders should envision their role as stimulators, supporters, and evaluators; they should set forth challenging goals and insist on accountability, leaving the tailoring and management of specific programs to colleges and universities. If the states are not consistently tough minded on this issue, they will fail to engage the attention of institutions and their leaders. If states are too heavy handed, they will create the "compliance syndrome" at the institutional level.

Finally, one of the most frequently overlooked avenues for progress, and the best prospect for short-term progress, is the retention of minority students who already enroll in higher education and do not complete programs or degrees. To some extent, the focus on improving the public schools, an absolutely essential task for American society, has detracted attention from the gains that could be made if colleges and universities were more successful in educating the minority students they currently enroll. Most college and university administrative and faculty leaders appear to be more comfortable in addressing the problems of the public schools than in confronting their own dropout problem.

One task of state leaders is to bring more attention and energy to the issues of retention and improved teaching and support services for students enrolled in colleges and universities. At the same time, state leaders must support and encourage higher education to continue addressing the problems of the public schools and the precollegiate preparation of all students.

If minority achievement is to be improved significantly, states must continue to press for results. A state policy environment can create the necessary conditions for progress if, over time, it keeps the issue of minority achievement in higher education at the top of the public policy agenda; supports effective institutional efforts; and uses incentives, sanctions, and accountability to leverage a sustained institutional effort and commitment. Success over the next decade rests largely on the ability of states, along with colleges and universities, to collaborate in an effective, mutually challenging way.

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FOUR-YEAR COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY ENVIRONMENTS FOR MINORITY DEGREE ACHIEVEMENT

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For all students, the attainment of the bachelor's degree represents the culmination of a long and often difficult process. It represents a series of quite specific successes -- completion of course and degree requirements, mastery of required subject matter, the achievement of skills in reasoning, discourse, and expression -- which are made possible by intellectual and personal growth and development.

The complex process of individual degree attainment is affected by many things in the internal environments of four-year colleges and universities: behavior and attitudes of faculty and staff members; institutional policies and practices in a wide variety of areas such as admissions, recruitment, financial aid, curricular and academic programs, and student life; and even organizational structures and arrangements. Less tangible things also are important. The prevailing climate and culture of a campus, and the dynamics between various subcultures and the dominant campus culture can influence student attitudes, aspirations, and behaviors in multiple ways and thus affect academic achievement and degree attainment.

To narrow the focus of inquiry from all students to minority students on predominantly white campuses adds even further complexity to the examination of educational environments because it turns our attention to students who experienced difficulties with degree achievement and to environments that often are perceived as having negative rather than positive influences. A focus on minority students forces us to deal with some rather uncomfortable realities -- with declining minority enrollments, with graduation patterns that show that minority students are less likely to persist to the baccalaureate degree than majority students, and with growing evidence of racism and other forms of intolerance on campus.

The most difficult problem for those concerned with campus environments is to get past the easy generalizations that the campus environment matters; that faculty attitudes, expectations, and behavior matter; that student feelings are important; that the social as well as the intellectual climate of the campus is important; that negative racial climates can adversely affect prospects for minority degree achievement and so on. But the complex nature of campus environments presents difficulties in demonstrating with any certainty the characteristics most importantly related to degree attainment.

By 1987, all colleges and universities had in place a variety of policies, programs, and services intended to help students in general, and minority students in particular, successfully manage college life. The problem for most institutions is to assess the strengths and weaknesses of established structures, programs and services; to find ways of measuring campus climates and anticipating racial tensions; and to decide the required changes to better provide for minority students.

There are no easy answers. This paper represents one attempt to shed light on these important issues, by focusing on the internal campus environments for minority degree achievement in four-year, predominantly white colleges and universities. Drawing selectively from a long tradition of research, and heavily from the findings to date in a major study on organizational influences on baccalaureate achievement by minorities, this paper identifies four areas in which sustained institutional attention can make a difference: (1) pre-college programs and services, (2) programs addressing preparation problems and the academic environment, (3) programs and services promoting student involvement in campus life, and (4) attention to campus climate, especially campus racial climate. In each area, examples are provided of institutional policies and practices that have been shown to be particularly effective and instrumental to minority degree attainment.

Theoretical, Causal, and Predictive Research

There is no discrete and cumulative stream of research on four-year college and university environments for minority degree attainment nor are there commonly agreed upon methods for the examination of these issues. Instead, there are several different streams of research (e.g. studies on college environment, educational attainment, academic performance, withdrawal and retention, minority students, black students, and Latino students) each of which contributes insights into the complex subject of the relationships between educational environments, degree attainment, and minority students. Many different methods (e.g. path analysis and causal modeling, correlation and factor analyses of survey data, comparative case studies of institutions) have been used in the various research streams, each of which has recognized limitations and drawbacks. The complexity of the issues and the multiplicity of streams and methods have produced many inconsistent findings and conclusions. Consequently, there are enormous gaps in what we know. Despite these difficulties, there is gradual research convergence on the problems and issues. Recent literature contains many insights that can be helpful to those concerned with minority degree achievement and responsible for institutional programs and practices.

Studies in the causal and predictive tradition have been concerned primarily with attempting to understand the relationships between environmental factors and student achievement. Such studies involve large numbers of variables but since they rarely proceed from experimental designs that control relevant variables, they generally measure only the strength of various relationships and without explaining how various environmental factors cause specific results. Because causal and predictive research methods require large data bases, such studies often work with information that is insensitive to differences between institutions and groups. The studies must rely on proxies for educational achievement, such as grade point averages and persistence rates, which commonly are recognized as unsatisfactory measures of learning and achievement. Despite these drawbacks such studies provide useful information about important variables and dynamics in the complex process of degree attainment.

Work in this tradition has made two things abundantly clear. First, student background characteristics and attributes, including levels of academic preparation and achievement, are importantly related to prospects for degree attainment. Second, various characteristics of campus environments, and of the dynamics within those environments, are importantly related to degree attainment. When the research focus is narrowed to minority degree achievement, however, there is considerably more uncertainty about the importance of background characteristics, and consistently more findings of negative associations between campus environments and degree achievement.

The Background Variables

The characteristics and attributes of students at the point of entry into college, are related in important ways to the outcomes of academic performance, persistence, and degree achievement. Tinto's (1987) theoretical model of college withdrawal provides a description of the importance of such background factors as family and community backgrounds, personal attributes, skills, previous achievements and value orientations to in-college dynamics.

Studies of educational attainment, based on the development and testing of causal models, have shown for decades that prior educational attainment and socioeconomic status are the strongest predictors of postsecondary attainment. (Wolfle 1985). Studies based on causal models using factor analyses of correlations between grade point averages and background variables with large data sets, show that high school grade point average and SAT scores are among the best predictors of college grades (Nettles 1984). Empirical tests of the Tinto theoretical model have found that student background characteristics are particularly important to persistence on commuter campuses but somewhat less so on residential campuses, where freshman year experiences have mediated the direct effect. (Pascarella, Duby, and Iverson 1983; Pascarella and Terenzini 1983). Other tests of the Tinto model have shown that, as predicted, student commitment to the goal of completing an educational program is very important to college persistence (Munro 1981).

Studies of the relationships between background variables and attainment, achievement, or dropout for minority students have provided much less consistent findings. Many studies of educational attainment focusing on black students have suggested that the attainment process is different for blacks (Portes and Wilson 1976). A recent comprehensive reanalysis of these studies, however, concludes that the differences can be accounted for by differences in research methods and techniques and that the process of degree attainment is the same for blacks and whites (Wolfle 1983). Wolfle maintains that attainment to the baccalaureate degree depends modestly on social background but heavily on academic preparation and academic skills. There is an ongoing controversy over whether SAT scores are valid predictors of academic performance for minority students. Work by Nettles for the Educational Testing Service, however, finds that high school grade point averages and SAT scores are strong predictors for both black and white students (Nettles 1983).

The College Environment Variables

The structural and organizational attributes of campus environments that have been found to relate to high rates of student persistence include size, form of control, residential or commuter status, selectivity, and income per student. Small, private, residential, academically selective, and rich colleges are consistently more successful at retaining and graduating larger proportions of their entering freshmen classes than other types of institutions (Clewell and Ficklen 1986; Rock, Centra, and Linn 1970). With respect to attributes somewhat more amenable to institutional action; income per student, the proportion of the faculty with the doctorate, high levels of faculty/student interaction, curriculum flexibility, and cultural facilities, also have been found to be positively related to achievement as measured by performance on GRE area tests. (These tests assess student understanding of basic concepts in the broad areas of social science, natural science, and the humanities.) (Rock, Centra, and Linn 1970; Centra and Rock 1971).

Other research has focused on the atmospheres and climates of educational environments and on student characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors in relation to them. More than 20 years ago, Robert Pace developed the College and University Environment Scales, which characterize the educational and psychological atmosphere or climate of the campus on the basis of student perceptions and opinions. These scales and subsequent variants of them were initially used to compare collegiate educational environments. Gradually they began to be used to examine relationships between environments and student educational achievements (Centra and Rock 1971; Pace 1979).

In more recent work with large black and white student samples, Nettles and Thoeny (1985) found many attitudinal and climate variables to be important predictors of grade performance. In order of importance, but leaving out the background variables, Nettles and Thoeny found that students with high grade point averages: have low feelings of racial discrimination, have a low number of interfering problems, have high satisfaction with their university, have relatively good study habits, have relatively high academic integration, attend institutions where faculty have a low level of influence upon student development, have degree aspirations beyond the Bachelor's degree, are members of the racial majority on their campus, are married, have relatively strong peer relationships, are female, live in on-campus housing, and are nontransfer students. Walter Allen (1987), in studies on predominantly black and predominantly white campuses, has shown that for black and white students, academic performance is strongly related to college satisfaction, with high levels of involvement in college life and with favorable relationships with faculty members.

Tinto's theoretical model of the persistence/withdrawal process is based on the concept of "fit" between the individual student and the institutional environment. It starts with students whose background characteristics and attributes, and precollege experiences, have led to specific educational intentions and commitments (p.6). The model postulates that subsequent experiences within the institution, both in its academic and social system, will lead directly to academic and social integration (or lack thereof) and hence to revised intentions, goals, and institutional commitments (or withdrawal). The academic system includes formal academic activities for students such as courses and examinations as well as less formal interactions and activities involving students and faculty members. The social system includes extracurricular activities and a variety of forms of student/staff and peer student interactions. Positive integration into academic and social systems strengthens goals and commitments to the institution, negative integration may lead to dropping out.

Pascarella and Terenzini (1983) tested the Tinto model and found that, as hypothesized, academic and social integration had an approximately equal influence on college persistence. In other work using the same theoretical base, the frequency of student contact with faculty during the freshman year was found to be important to student intellectual and personal development (Pascarella and Terenzini 1978, 1980; Bean and Kuh 1984). Student perceptions of such climate variables as level of academic or intellectual competition, impersonalism, and accessibility of faculty were found to be more closely related to student educational aspirations than were the more structural characteristics of institutions such as size or type (Pascarella 1984).

Studies that have looked directly at environmental factors in relation to minority degree achievement, however, have found evidence of negative environmental influences. Nettles and Thoeny (1985) found that student satisfaction, peer group relations and interfering problems all have greater significance as grade performance predictors for black students than for white students. Comparing black and white responses to environmental variables, they found that black students have significantly lower academic integration, are less likely to feel that the university is nondiscriminatory, are less satisfied with their university, have more interfering problems, and have poorer study habits than white students. Walter Allen (1987) found that black students on white campuses report significantly less involvement with campus life than do white students (and than do black students on black campuses), and that black students on white campuses are much less likely to report excellent relations with white faculty members than are black students on black campuses.

Case Study Research

Descriptive, case study research is quite different from theoretical, causal, and predictive research in that it starts from the examination of particular environments and seeks to build understanding by observation and inductive processes about what seems to be working in particular situations. Some studies are based on examinations in single institutions while others work with several institutions and seek commonalities and principles that can be generalized. Studies of this type are particularly important because they allow us to look closely at policies, programs and services and at the dynamics of campus climates and cultures. Two such studies are described here.

Black Students on White Campuses (Peterson et al. 1978) reports the results of a five-year examination of the impact of dramatic increases in black enrollments on 13 predominantly white, four-year campuses. The researchers studied campus responses to the increased black enrollments in the areas of administration, faculty, academic or curricular policies and practices, and student culture. Extensive information on programs and practices, on attitudes and perceptions, and on campus climates was gathered through campus visits and faculty and student interviews and surveys. The authors developed a theoretical model of institutional adaptation.

Although the study was completed a decade ago, it remains important because of its systematic examination of institutional environments and because it surfaced the organizational dilemma of whether to create separate offices, programs, and services for minority students or to seek to respond to minority students' interests and needs through established campus offices and programs. The study also warned of substantial racial tension on predominantly white campuses, especially in the area of student life.

> Race relations, particularly among students, are characterized by voluntary segregation or by indifference thinly covering interracial conflicts and feelings of mistrust. Little attention was being paid to the interpersonal aspects of race on these campuses, and organizational arrangements and social segregation reinforced the situation (p. 319).

A second study, still in progress, involves the in-depth examination of organizational influences on baccalaureate achievement by minorities in 10 public, predominantly white colleges and universities, which award a substantial number of degrees to minority students. Richardson, Simmons, and de los Santos (1987) describe six early lessons learned from the 10 institutions:

- Minority achievement is viewed as a preparation problem rather than a racial problem.

- The campus environment is recognized as a critical factor in student involvement and success.

- Small numbers of minority faculty members and limited involvement in equal opportunity strategies by all faculty members are recognized as problems needing urgent attention by these universities.

- There is visible evidence of administrative commitment.

- -- Strategies for promoting the success of minority students (in predominantly white institutions), or for promoting the success of all students (in multicultural institutions), were comprehensive and systematic rather than fragmented and sporadic.
- -- The most progress has occurred among universities where institutional commitment and good educational practices are enhanced by a favorable state policy environment (pp. 22-25).

We turn now to an examination of programs found effective by institutions participating in the Organizational Influences study. Findings are reported throughout the following sections.

Pre-College Programs and Services

Colleges and universities have recognized they can do a great deal to influence the educational aspirations, motivation and academic preparation of students during their high school and even elementary school years. The colleges and universities have recognized, too, that precollege activity can be particularly beneficial to the educationally disadvantaged populations, which include disproportionally large numbers of minority students.

Initial findings from the Organizational Influences study show that the 10 institutions offer an extensive array of precollege, summer bridge, and special orientation programs designed to help improve academic skills and increase educational aspirations and motivation. Findings also show that these efforts are paying off in community support, in minority application rates and enrollment statistics, and, most importantly, in minority degree attainment.

The University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) has very competitive admissions practices because enormous numbers of students want to attend. Under current policy, UCLA offers admission to all students in the protected categories (e.g. blacks, Hispanics, American Indians) who meet the high admissions standards set for the University of California system, but it selects competitively from qualified White and Asian students. The effect is to ensure a large minority enrollment but also to create a distinct difference in the academic preparation levels of majority and minority students. This preparation gap has been reflected in persistence and graduation statistics in which minority students fare less well than majority students.

Close to two decades ago, UCLA began an initiative designed both to help minority and disadvantaged students meet the high university admissions standards and to address the academic preparation gaps of many minority students. The university initiated many precollege programs and began to work actively with high schools and junior high schools in their service district. (The district includes the largest number of minority-dominant junior and senior high schools -- 64 junior high schools, 53 high schools -- in California.) UCLA senior administrators are convinced that the precollege work is particularly important in campus efforts to help minority students earn baccalaureate degrees.

There are many discrete precollege programs at UCLA with different activities and target populations (e.g. a Partnership Program serving 5,000 students in grades 7-12, a Mariposa Program working with 14 East Los Angeles high schools and directed at Latino-Chicano students, a MESA program for students interested in math, engineering and science) but they are all organized under a single administrative umbrella, the Office of Admissions and Relations with Schools.

Early outreach programs at UCLA have academic support components and specific objectives for participants. Junior high school programs emphasize parental involvement, academic advising, role model presentations, college and university visits, and information dissemination. Student participants are expected to complete a college preparatory English course and an Algebra course successfully before the 10th grade, and to prepare a personal academic plan for senior high school. Senior high programs provide direct academic support in the form of tutoring and advising for participants in college preparatory courses. Student course selection and progress are monitored closely by project staff, and students are expected to develop good study habits and maintain a level of scholarship that will ensure eligibility for either the University of California or California State University systems.

Immediate outreach programs are designed to identify qualified potential applicants from underrepresented groups. They include presentations to high school and community college students and counselors, campus tours, career information days, college motivation nights, admissions counseling, and orientation seminars.

UCLA administrators believe that part of the success of the precollege programs can be attributed to the unified and supportive administrative base for them. Close coordination between the 18 programs, monitoring of program and staff effectiveness, placement of staff and interns in the schools, a diversified staff, and close monitoring of program participants are all factors which they believe contribute to the success of the programs.

In addition to the precollege programs, UCLA works with administrators and faculty members in district schools in projects that focus on curriculum and the academic preparation of students for UCLA. Under the umbrella of an Office of Academic Interinstitutional Programs, a five-year plan for school curricular improvement is being followed. English and Writing received attention during the first year while math, science, social science, and fine arts and foreign language will be taken up in subsequent years. To disseminate the results of the projects, five-week summer institutes and follow-up professional development workshops are offered for teachers in writing, mathematics and science.

Programs Addressing Preparation Problems and the Academic Environment

Minority students as a group do less well on the standard measures of academic performance in college than do majority students. This is largely a problem of academic preparation. Special admissions programs have used different criteria for educationally and/or financially disadvantaged students for years and regular admissions criteria have been adjusted in many institutions to recognize a variety of nonacademic strengths and contributions. As a result many minority students have lower grades and SAT scores and less adequate academic preparation than white students and other minority students from more advantaged educational backgrounds. The preparation differences show up in performance and persistence differences, especially in the early college years.

Colleges and universities have begun to recognize academic preparation problems as institutional rather than individual problems and have made greater efforts to help students succeed through such programmatic measures as diagnostic services, remedial/developmental courses, academic counseling and tutorials, learning skills laboratories, writing and math centers, and special language programs; and by paying more attention to the academic environment as it is perceived and experienced by students. Revisions to programs and services often result from in-depth self-studies focused on retention.

All 10 institutions in the Organizational Influences study recognize student preparation problems and have initiated programs and services to address them. Although there is enormous variety in specific program activities and services, all 10 endorse their programs from the top, devote extensive campus resources to them, and staff them with individuals genuinely dedicated to student learning. Additional common characteristics include systems for early diagnosis and immediate response to academic problems, individualized approaches to student needs, and academic environments that do not stigmatize students who use special academic programs and services.

Brooklyn College, one of the senior (four-year) colleges in the City University of New York provides an example of a comprehensive and well-established approach to helping students with preparation problems. While proud of its history of offering high quality liberal arts education, Brooklyn College is also part of a system well known for its emphasis on access. Admissions criteria are set by the CUNY system, not Brooklyn College. Students with at least an 80 high school average or who rank in the top third of their high school class are eligible for admission to the senior colleges of CUNY. The practical, and intended, effect is to ignore the educational disparities across high schools in New York City and to enable large numbers of students from predominantly minority institutions to enroll in CUNY senior institutions. In addition, New York State provides massive resources for a CUNY-operated program (Search for Education, Elevation, and Knowledge--SEEK). Such a program provides access, financial and educational support for students who do not meet regular admissions criteria, provided they come from especially disadvantaged families and neighborhoods. While many SEEK students are not minority students, a disproportionate share of the minority students in the CUNY senior colleges are in the SEEK program.

As a result of CUNY admission policies Brooklyn College faces a two-tiered academic preparation problem. Many of the regularly admitted students cannot meet the traditional expectations of the faculty for high academic performance, and more than 1,000 SEEK students in the college have an enormous preparation gap. Brooklyn has approached these problems in a number of ways. All Brooklyn College students take a battery of assessment tests, administered by CUNY, which determine the student's ability to engage in college level work in reading, mathematics, writing, and language. Brooklyn College uses the results as diagnostic information and has designed a carefully sequenced set of developmental courses to remedy problems in each area. The Department of Educational Services, a separate academic department with more than 30 faculty members, offers the remedial programs and provides advising and counseling services for academically underprepared students, including SEEK students. After completion of the course sequence, students retake the assessment tests, which they must pass before they can enroll in Brooklyn College's required CORE curriculum. The college has also developed a large peer tutoring program; a Writing Center and a Math Workshop where students can drop in at any time and receive help; an early warning system to identify students in academic difficulty; and a large scale mentor program in which faculty members work one-to-one with students.

Temple University provides a somewhat different example of efforts to help students with academic preparation problems. Temple considers the responsibility to serve underrepresented groups and to provide a diversity of programs to be part of its basic mission. Like Brooklyn College, Temple has a large number of minority students who enter under regular admissions criteria and many who enter through special admissions programs designed for educationally and financially disadvantaged students. Temple is proud of the fact that it does not isolate minority students for "special" treatment. Senior administrators believe that "mainstreaming" better assists minority students to cope with the university environment and to achieve success.

Temple has established the Russell Conwell Educational Services Center, named after its founder, to help all students overcome academic preparation problems. The Russell Conwell Center has several component programs: A state-funded ACT 101 program which provides counseling, tutoring and precollege instruction for economically and educationally disadvantaged students; an Educational Services program, which provides educational and career counseling and runs summer bridge programs; a program for first generation college students, which provides special workshops, tutoring, and counseling; an adult program with special issues workshops and financial, career and life planning counseling; a program for adults in downtown Philadelphia with community workshops and preadmissions counseling; a Learning Center, which focuses on the development of learning skills; QUEST, a special program offering help with arithmetic and algebra; and ELECT, a program designed to help with communication skills.

Programs and Services Promoting Student Involvement in Campus Life

Colleges and universities with impressive records of minority degree achievement often are blessed with favorable urban locations and large minority populations from, which to attract students. While these factors are important, they are not sufficient to account for institutional success with minority degree achievement. Successful institutions take advantage of their locations by taking the initiative. They find ways to pay attention to the social as well as the academic integration of their students. They celebrate the diversity of their student bodies, encourage active participation in campus life and involve their local communities in their efforts.

Consistent with other research findings, the Organizational Influences study suggests that, in addition to the academic factors discussed, the size of the minority student population on campus, location, community involvement, financial aid, and residence halls are the most important areas in which institutional action can help improve social integration and thus degree achievement for minority students.

Size: A Move Toward Being Multicultural. Regardless of the size of the college or university, small proportions of minority students in undergraduate populations and small absolute numbers of students in each minority group have always presented problems for the social integration of minority students in predominantly white institutions. Colleges and universities have long recognized the need for a critical mass of students from each minority group in order to provide the "comfortability factor" that helps students, and potential applicants, perceive the institution as an attractive place to be. In the Organizational Influences study, the institutions considered by minority students, their families, and community leaders to be exciting, interesting places, and genuinely committed to minority degree achievement, were institutions in which the proportions of minority students in the undergraduate student body approached or exceeded 20 percent. While these institutions had a predominant minority group, they also had a critical mass of students from other minority groups as well. In these institutions, the student groups created lively student cultures and social, cultural, and co-curricular campus activities. The programs reflected the lively diversity of the student bodies; the institutions were multicultural.

But the term "multiculture" suggests more than the size of the minority student population. The concept of campus culture refers to attitudes, values, beliefs, and ideologies that are shared by members of a campus community. By 1987, most colleges and universities have not only a dominant culture but also multiple subcultures, smaller internal communities who share values and beliefs quite different from those of the majority. On many campuses, faculty, staff, and students who share a minority group affiliation form quite distinct subcultures. Students often can "fit" within an otherwise alien institution by finding a comfortable niche within such a subculture. As Vincent Tinto (1987) has pointed out, the presence or absence of multiple subcultures does not, in itself, create tensions or healthy environments within campus communities. What matters is the dynamics between the various subcultures and the dominant culture. Rejection and intolerance of minority groups by members of the dominant campus culture can lead to alienation and isolation and have a negative impact on academic performance and persistence. Or, as in the case of many institutions in the Organizational Influences study, a minority presence of significant proportions can lead to a genuine multicultural environment, which has a positive influence on degree attainment.

The issue of organizational arrangements for minority student services and programs identified by Peterson et al (1978) disappears in multicultural institutions where a philosophy and practice of well-integrated programs and services result in an abundance of academic and social support services and programs serving all students. Minority students take full advantage of these services and staff members seem genuinely interested in all students. These institutions were alive with activities and events that brought different groups together and took full advantage of diverse traditions and multiple cultural contributions. There was a dynamism on these campuses that is difficult to describe but seemed to make the totality of the campus environments a positive influence on all students, especially minority students. But several of the institutions in the Organizational Influences study, despite their success in graduating minority students have not yet found solutions to the organizational issue. In three institutions, although the institutional philosophy and policy stressed that all campus units and programs were responsible for serving all students, a few dedicated (often minority) staff members in a very few units were making the critical difference to minority student success.

Location and Community Involvement. There is no question that it is easier for colleges and universities located in urban areas with large minority populations to attract and retain minority students, but an urban location provides no guarantees. Even urban institutions must reach out to their surrounding communities and demonstrate that they are committed to minority student success before the minority community will respond. Once this has been accomplished, however, community support and interest can help enliven and enrich college and university environments for minority degree achievement. Very close connections and strong support from the Hispanic community were considered critical to the success of the University of Texas/El Paso and to Florida International University, while black community support made an important difference at Memphis State, Wayne State, and Temple. All of the institutions in the Organizational Influences study found that building and maintaining constructive relationships required top level leadership and commitment, involvement from faculty and staff throughout the institution, and, most important, sustained effort. The institutions emphasized regular interactions, community participation in campus cultural and intellectual events, and cooperative programs with local businesses and industries to provide career opportunities for students and graduates.

Financial Aid. Campus based financial aid supplementing federal and state grants and loans help keep students from dropping out of college to go to work as well as minimizing the amount of off-campus work required to make ends meet making it possible for students to devote more time to their studies and to become more actively involved in campus life. Campus based aid is important because campus financial aid officers know and work with individual students and their families. They provide timely information and extra help at the right moment while looking for creative ways to augment resources and reduce costs.

Most colleges and universities have campus-based financial aid programs. All campuses in the Organizational Influences study considered financial aid to be extremely important to their efforts to attract minority students and to keep them enrolled and all have what might be called "aggressive" financial aid policies and programs. These campuses devote extensive campus resources to financial aid. They also seek out ways to assist students and their parents to take maximum advantage of state and federal programs; offer minority scholars programs with strong inducements to attract well qualified minority applicants, and work with community groups to attract new sources of scholarship support for their students. For example, the University of Texas/El Paso provides more than 750 scholarships a year from contributions made locally and it hosts an annual dinner for donors and scholarship recipients. The financial aid staff, working with high school principals and counselors, sponsors evening meetings in local high schools for high school students and their parents during which they describe, in English and in Spanish, various types of aid. During these sessions, they also help with financial aid forms.

Residence Halls. Social integration and involvement with campus life are enhanced by opportunities to live on campus. Although most of the institutions in the Organizational Influences study are urban and largely commuter institutions, many of them consider residence halls to be an important component of their efforts to serve minority students and many are seeking to build or expand residence hall systems. At Memphis State University only about 15 percent of the undergraduates are housed in residence halls but between 25 and 30 percent of the students who live in residence halls are black, a proportion which exceeds black representation in the undergraduate student body. University administrators believe that the residence halls help them recruit and retain minority students and are planning to expand the system. Blacks are visible among residence hall staff and advisers.

UCLA also plans to expand its residence hall system. A lottery system is now used at UCLA to allocate scarce spaces in the housing system, but a number of spaces are held out of the lottery and used for highly recruited freshmen scholars, athletes and students in the Academic Advancement Program, the special counseling and support service program for low-income and minority students. Many academic and support programs that enhance the environment are built into the residence halls including tutoring and basic skills classes and seminars, visiting faculty, and faculty-in-residence programs.

Many other aspects of campus life were used in positive ways in these institutions with successful records of minority degree achievement. UCLA, Florida State, and Memphis State took strong advantage of their athletic programs and athletic traditions to recruit minority students, while others emphasized cultural events and programs. Brooklyn College produced an unusual multicultural environment by using student clubs and organizations both to reinforce ethnic identities and to emphasize pluralism by bringing students of quite diverse backgrounds together around interest areas. For all the variety in programs, activities and orientations found in multicultural institutions in the Organizational Influences study, the common denominator is commitment to making the total campus environment a positive one for students.

Toward an Improved Campus Climate

Campus climate refers to the aggregated perceptions or feelings of individuals in the college or university about the institution. How individual students, and minority groups as a whole, assess the climates of their predominantly white institutions has important implications for recruitment and admissions, student satisfaction, persistence, and degree achievement. Perceived climate -- the cognitive image that people have about the institution -- can be quite important to an institution's ability to attract minority students. Felt climate -- how people feel about the institution -- can be particularly important to retention.

It is becoming clear that the racial climates on many college and university campuses are not healthy. Reports in the Chronicle of Higher Education and in the popular press describe serious racial incidents and problems with ever greater frequency. These incidents have occurred at prestigious universities with strong liberal traditions and at selective liberal arts colleges. So far there appears to be no pattern by institutional type, size, or location. Significantly, such incidents have not occurred on the campuses of the institutions participating in the Organizational Influences study.

It is difficult to know what to make of these events. Many argue that they are isolated occurrences that do not reflect the tenor or climate on these campuses or in other colleges and universities. Others argue that they are only the tip of the iceberg, the few reported among the many more numerous demonstrations of racism and discrimination on these and other campuses. While the scope and depth of racist and discriminatory attitudes and behavior are unknown, it is clear that many predominantly white, four-year colleges and universities have somehow failed to live up to their ideals as civil and tolerant social communities that respect diversity and pluralism. It is also clear that many minority students perceive predominantly white campuses to be hostile to their interests and needs. The practices and policies of successful institutions deserve close scrutiny as institutions study ways of responding to the new campus racial crisis.

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FACILITATING DEGREE ACHIEVEMENT BY MINORITIES: THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE ENVIRONMENT

Arthur M. Cohen

Community colleges, defined as institutions accredited to award the Associate in Arts or Science as their highest degree, are found in all 50 states. Products of the expansion of publicly supported higher education in the United States in the 20th Century, they enroll 4.9 million students, or around 40 percent of all people enrolled in colleges and universities in the nation. Their students have diverse aspirations: one-third seek to transfer to senior institutions and eventually obtain baccalaureate degrees; one third seek job-entry skills; 15 per cent seek training that will enable them to upgrade themselves in a job or career they already hold; and 15 percent seek neither degrees nor certificates but are attending only for their personal interests. Most of the students attend on a part-time basis, commuting to the institution to take a class or two per term. Most are employed for 20 hours or more per week. In some states the community colleges are marginal institutions, drawing their students from the groups who do not seek higher education but who want some postsecondary experience. In others they are central to the public education system, enrolling 80 percent or more of all people who begin postsecondary studies.

Because the colleges typically have few or no admissions requirements -- in some states an applicant need not even have a high school diploma -- they have attracted sizable numbers of students who would not otherwise consider going to college. They are readily accessible: in many states a community college is within commuting distance of nearly everyone in the population. Tuition charges are typically lower than they are at the senior institutions. Most of the colleges offer courses in the evenings and on weekends, not only at the central campus but also in numerous branch centers in the cities and suburbs. Many of their occupationally relevant programs can be completed in a year or less. Accessibility and variety are the colleges' guiding principles.

In this paper the role of community colleges in facilitating baccalaureate degree achievement by minorities is considered. The author traces patterns of students entering community colleges, the environment that the institutions present, and policies and practices affecting the movement of students through the institutions, and makes recommendations for enhancing the flow. Although this paper is focused on data and practices particularly concerned with the transfer of minority students from community colleges to four-year colleges and universities, the transfer function as a whole is considered since most institutional activities affect minority and majority group members equally.

Community College Students and Transfer

The ethnic minorities are highly represented in community colleges. The institutions enroll 34 percent of all white undergraduates, 39 percent of all black students attending college, 53 percent of the Hispanics, 51 percent of the American Indians, and 43 percent of the Asians (Fact File 1986). Naturally, these enrollment patterns differ from state to state depending on the percentage of minorities in each state's population and on the accessibility of the community colleges relative to the state's universities. Hispanic students comprise over 10 percent of community college enrollments in California, New Mexico, and Texas. Black students are highly represented in the community colleges of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. The percentage of black community college enrollment is higher than the proportion of 18- to 24- year old blacks in the population in several states including Delaware, Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri. Nationwide, minority group students constitute around one-fourth of all community college enrollments.

The phenomenon of minority enrollment in community colleges is accentuated in cities with high proportions of minorities in their populations: Chicago, Cleveland, El Paso, Los Angeles, Miami, New York, and Phoenix, among others. The reason is that the community college is a commuter institution, much like the secondary schools and the urban-based universities. By design, a commuter institution draws its students from the surrounding neighborhoods, hence its population typically reflects the ethnic and social class composition of its vicinity. The pattern of neighborhood attendance is revealed also where the community college has several campuses in the same city: at East Los Angeles College 64 percent of the students are Hispanic; at Los Angeles Southwest College 95 percent are black; and at Los Angeles Pierce College 75 percent are white.

The community colleges receive higher proportions of the students from low socioeconomic groups and with lower academic ability. In 1982, whereas 58 percent of the students from the highest socioeconomic quartile enrolled in the senior institutions, only 21 percent enrolled in the community colleges. During that same year 63 percent of the students from the highest academic quartile enrolled in the universities, but only 16 percent enrolled in the community colleges. Clearly the top students go to the four-year colleges and universities in much higher proportion than they do to the community colleges.

These disparate ability levels are reflected in the enrollment of minorities. Among 1982 high school graduates, 19 percent of the blacks and 10 percent of the Hispanics from the lowest academic-ability quartile enrolled in the universities and 15 percent of the blacks and 19 percent of the Hispanics from that low-ability group enrolled in the community colleges. But among students from the highest quartile of academic ability, 77 percent of the blacks and 61 percent of the Hispanics enrolled in the senior institutions and 11 percent of the blacks and 21 percent of the Hispanics enrolled in the community colleges. (Clowes et al. 1986).

In general, Hispanic students are overrepresented and blacks underrepresented in the community colleges in proportion to their enrollment in senior institutions. The explanation for this is rather straightforward: Many black students still attend the traditionally black institutions in the South, nearly all of which grant the baccalaureate or higher degrees. But the nation has no history of senior institutions designed especially for Hispanics. And by geographical coincidence the Hispanic population is concentrated in the states that have the most highly developed community college systems: Florida, Texas, Colorado, New York, California, and Arizona.

College Outcomes

Calculating achievement rates for community college students is not nearly as straightforward as calculating student enrollment in general. Most measures of college student achievement center on degrees obtained. The community colleges confer around 450,000 associate degrees per year. Together with the short-term occupational certificates that they award, this yields a ratio of approximately one degree or certificate awarded each year to 10 percent of their student population. What happens to the others? Many transfer to universities short of receiving associate degrees; many enter the labor market without receiving a degree or certificate; many more did not seek degrees when they matriculated and they leave, more or less satisfied with what they attained.

The major issue in considering higher degree attainment is that all students entering community colleges must transfer to four-year colleges or universities before they can obtain baccalaureate degrees. Therefore there is bound to be a shortfall in the number of community college matriculants who obtain baccalaureate degrees when compared with the students who enter senior colleges as freshmen -- the very necessity for leaving one institution and entering another would result in a certain amount of dropouts. Astin (1982) has traced this shortfall using data from his Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP). Levin and Clowes (1980) used data from the National Longitudinal Study (NLS) of The High School Class of 1972 and corroborated the realization that initial attendance at a community college was related to a reduced probability of baccalaureate attainment.

Having noted that community college attendance is related to a reduced likelihood of baccalaureate attainment leaves many questions unanswered. How many students actually make the transition from community college to university? How many want to? Why do more students not transfer? What happens after they get to the university? What might be done to improve the transfer rates? Which policies and practices differentially affect students from minority and majority groups? These questions are not easily answered because they may be variously interpreted and because the data that may be brought to bear on them are scanty.

There are no reliable national data sets. However, figures from the states where data are collected show that around 5,000 students per year transfer from community colleges to state colleges and universities in Washington, 35,500 from California community colleges to the University of California and the California State University system, slightly more than 10,000 from community colleges to both public and private senior institutions in Illinois, and slightly fewer than 5,000 in Maryland. It is not useful to attempt to extrapolate those data to arrive at a nationwide figure because of the vagaries in counting transfers between states. It is likely that any number that is used understates the magnitude of transfer because of the data that are missing.

One way of estimating transfer rates is to count the number of university students whose transcripts show courses taken at community colleges. In states with well-articulated community colleges and public university systems, the community colleges provide significant proportions of the universities' undergraduates; 42 percent of all undergraduate students in Florida's public universities previously attended community colleges in that state. However, where the community colleges serve a different function or where the universities have clung vigorously to their freshman enrollments, the proportion is much lower. Only 17 percent of the undergraduates in state universities in Kansas are transfers. Where the universities work closely with community colleges in their immediate area they may have more transfers than native freshmen: Arizona State University's student body includes 8,400 who were formerly students in the Maricopa Community College District in Phoenix, and the University of Massachusetts at Boston similarly has a high proportion of community college transfers.

How many students enter community colleges intending to transfer? Many studies done over the years have suggested that around three-fourths of the students beginning in community colleges intend eventually to obtain the baccalaureate or higher degree. A survey of students taking classes in 24 urban community colleges in 1983 found 74 percent declaring transfer intent (CSCC 1985). In 1984 the CIRP found 76 percent declaring intentions of obtaining a baccalaureate or higher degree (Astin et al. 1985). But these are biased samples. The urban community college study drew its students from among those taking credit classes, using the class section as the unit of sampling, thus skewing the sample in the direction of full-time students. The CIRP surveys first-time-in-college, full-time freshmen, 90 percent of whom are aged 19 or younger.

The form of the question asking transfer intentions also biases the answers. When a person is asked, "What is the highest academic degree that you intend to obtain?", the suggestion is raised of a goal to be reached sometime during the person's life. Few young people would acknowledge that they never expect to go further in the educational system, that they have closed off life's options. When the question is asked as, "What is the primary reason you are attending this college at this time?", significantly fewer, usually one-third, say that they are in college to prepare for transfer or to get a higher degree, while one half say that they seek occupational skills. Most of the latter group expect eventually to gain higher degrees but see job entry as their first aim. In fact, many students mark both "Bachelors" as the highest degree they expect to obtain and "Gaining occupational skills" as their primary reason for attending college at that time. Their responses are perfectly consistent.

Various statewide studies corroborate the figure of around one-third of the entrants' transfer intentions. The Illinois Community College Board (1986) found 32 percent of the students in that state declaring transfer intentions, the Maryland State Board for Community Colleges (1983) found 31 percent, the and California Statewide Longitudinal Study, (Sheldon 1982) found 36 percent. These statewide studies drew samples of all entering students, and asked why they were entering college at that time.

Transfer

How many students actually transfer? The question cannot be answered because the ways of counting transfers vary. Some students attend a community college and university concurrently; others start in the university as freshmen, drop out to spend a term or two in the community college, then come back to the university; some take a couple of courses at a community college in the summer after high school graduation and then enter the university; some enter a community college, drop out for a period of years, and then enter the university; some finish two years at a community college and transfer to a university in mid-year or out of state. All of the above students would be counted as transfers by some modes of reckoning, none of them by others.

Herein lies the most difficult problem in estimating not only the numbers of transfers but also the effects of community colleges on their students. If a student takes a class or two at a community college and eventually enrolls at a university, the community college cannot reasonably be charged with responsibility for the student's progress. Some analysts attempt to mitigate that problem by counting as transfers only those students who have earned at least 12 units at a community college prior to entering the university. But in many states a transfer student is defined as one who enrolls at a university and checks, "community college" as the institution last attended. There is no way, short of analyzing each student's transcript, to tell how long the student was there. One California community college checked the roster of transfers that the university had received and found students with as few as 5 and as many as 154 units taken.

The number of transfers can be estimated by counting the associate degree recipients who move on to universities in the subsequent term. This mode of reckoning yields around 250,000-300,000 students transferring per year. Another 300,000-400,000 university students have taken courses in community colleges at some time during their academic careers. But these figures are only estimates based on woefully incomplete data. A single college may have more or less reliable information but it is impossible to compare with corresponding data from other colleges because of the varying definitions in reporting procedures. The same holds true for statewide studies.

Data on students entering all types of colleges nationwide yield some information but the community college portion of the samples is typically small. Using CIRP data, Astin (1983) has calculated institutional effects by controlling for up to 100 variables. He concludes that "a baccalaureate-oriented freshman who enrolls initially at a community college has a 16 percent better chance of becoming a dropout than a comparable student who enrolls at a public four-year college," (p. 125). However, he admits that most of the differential rate is due to the entering characteristics of the students, the fact that few community colleges have on-campus residents, and that community college students tend to work more hours per week and take fewer classes. After equating for students who reside away from home and who work less than 20 hours per week, Astin finds the discrepancy between expected and actual dropout rates among community college entrants drops to 7 percent.

Several analysts have relied on data from the NLS of the High School Class of 1972, which surveyed a sample of high school seniors and did follow-up surveys in several subsequent years. The sample included 825 students who enrolled initially in 85 two-year colleges. Velez (1985) used the NLS 1976 follow-up, which showed 42 percent of the four-year college entrants and 12 percent of the two-year college entrants completing the baccalaureate, and concluded that where one began college had an important effect on attainment. He also noted that "living quarters had the largest significant effect on the probability of finishing college" and that "students who had work-study jobs had a 23 percent higher probability of finishing college," (p. 197). Pascarella (1986) used NLS data to calculate student progress after nine years. He found 14 variables that accounted for 17 percent of the variance in persistence and 24 percent of the variance in baccalaureate attainment. Anderson (1981) ran 26 variables to find that community college entrants were less likely to persist through the sophomore year. She acknowledged, "It is true that these variables explain only a small proportion of the variance in persistence....[T]he intervening variables included in the models mediated only a small proportion of the effects of college, work and residence," (pp. 13-14).

Single college system studies include Alba and Lavin's (1981) analysis of the students who were shunted to community colleges in the CUNY system after open admissions was effected in 1970. They found that after five years there was no difference in persistence but that senior college matriculants were twice as likely to have received the baccalaureate. However, students in two of the five community colleges in the system showed no difference in attainment. This led the authors to conclude: "We do not know what mechanisms in the community-college context helped to produce this impact," (p. 235).

Although the data are scanty and the analyses account for only a small proportion of the variance in baccalaureate attainment, those who seek to make a point blow the difference up to cosmic proportions.

> With a far greater body of empirical evidence now available, the fundamental argument may be stated again with ever greater confidence: Far from embodying the democratization of higher education and a redistribution of opportunity in

> the wider society, the expansion of the community college instead heralded the arrival in higher education of a form of class-linked tracking that served to reproduce existing social relations. To be sure, some individuals who would otherwise have been excluded from higher education have used the community college as a platform for upward mobility.... Yet, such cases to the contrary notwithstanding, the overall impact of the community college has been to accentuate rather than reduce prevailing patterns of social and class inequality." (Karabel 1986, 18).

Dougherty (1986) too, while acknowledging that the community colleges broaden access to higher education and to jobs and higher income, contends that they help ensure that people stay in their social stratum, that community college entrants receive fewer baccalaureates, fewer years of education, less prestigious jobs, and poorer paying jobs than students who enter four-year colleges.

These jeremiads are more politically inspired than empirically founded. The results of studies comparing the success rates of students entering community colleges with those beginning at universities do not warrant the conclusion. Using regression analysis these studies put into the formula student age, ethnicity, prior academic achievement, work status, and all other variables they can access from available data. And at best the studies account for around 25 percent of the variance in degree attainment. The remainder probably is due to some combination of institutional environment and characteristics of the students that have not been quantified. For example, why many students who qualify for entry to selective institutions begin at community colleges. Is some underlying lack of commitment to higher education at play?

Transfer of Minorities

The difficulty in disaggregating the effects of community colleges from the characteristics of the students who enter them is magnified in the attempts to describe the community colleges' special effects on minority students. In general, students who enter community colleges instead of universities are of lower academic ability, lower socioeconomic class, and have lower academic aspirations. The various studies that have attempted to control for those variables frequently also attempt to control for the fact that minority students are more likely to enter community colleges than universities. Here, though, the difference is much greater for Hispanic students than for blacks, and much less for Asian students; hence the term, "minority student" loses much of its precision. Still, the best estimates suggest that white students comprise 75 percent of community college enrollment and obtain 85 percent of the associate degrees; black students comprise 13 percent of the enrollment and obtain 8 percent of the associate degrees; Hispanic students comprise 6 percent of enrollment and obtain 4 percent of the degrees. The California Postsecondary Education Commission, calculating transfer rates as a ratio of full-time freshmen entering college two years earlier, finds that blacks comprise 10 percent of the freshmen and seven percent of the transfers and Hispanics comprise 17 percent of the community college freshmen and 9 percent of the transfers. (Overall, a total of two percent of the community college matriculants transfer to the University of California and 10 percent to the California State University system.)

The fact that the black and Hispanic students entering the institutions tend to be from lower socioeconomic groups, have lower educational aspirations, and have lower academic ability does not deter those who seek dire reasons for the lower attainment. Surely, they say, because fewer minorities receive associate degrees and transfer, there must be a conspiracy against them. If not a conspiracy then at least inadvertent racism. If not inadvertent racism then at least benign neglect. Since more minorities enter community colleges than universities, and since fewer community college matriculants eventually receive baccalaureate degrees, then the community college must be doing something that militates against minority group student transfer. But no one has documented exactly what that something might be. The major difference between community colleges and universities seems to lie in the pattern of students attending and in the community colleges' encouraging part-time, commuter attendance. While allegations have been made of differential treatment, the data do not substantiate the charge.

College Environment

What is the environment in the community college? It is designed for easy access. It makes few demands of those who participate. Student clubs, societies, and government are decidedly marginal. Classes are as likely to be offered in the evening as in the morning. It is not disparaging to say that the community college environment is a cross between the comprehensive high school and the community center. It is certainly quite unlike the selective four-year college with which it sometimes is compared.

Pace has characterized college environments through the use of College and University Environment Scales (CUES). First refined as an instrument for assessing the environment in senior institutions, CUES rates colleges according to awareness, practicality, propriety, community, and scholarship. Since portions of these dimensions relate to features not typical of community colleges, the instrument has been refined to better fit those environments and used to compare their constituents' perceptions of them.

Hendrix (1967) administered the revised CUES to the staff and students in 95 community colleges selected to represent location, presence or absence of evening programs and housing, various curriculum types, and varying full-time and part-time student ratios. He found that students desire a good scholastic and intellectual environment and a high degree of sociability, whereas the faculty particularly valued serious students. Hendrix concluded that the range of difference at senior institutions was much greater than among the community colleges that he studied and that any difference in pattern of environment increases the likelihood of certain institutional objectives being achieved and decreases the likelihood of others.

Guilliams (1971) administered CUES to counselors and students in a Michigan community college and also gave the instrument to high school counselors from the local area. Findings were that high school counselors' perceptions differed significantly from those of the students, college counselors differed from high school counselors, and students tended to rate the campus lower on all CUES dimensions.

CUES was administered to a sample of 300 students at Bronx Community College before the implementation of the CUNY open-admissions policy and again to a similar sample after the open-admissions policy had been implemented. A sample of faculty participated in both studies. None of the CUES scales registered significant student changes before and after open admissions, but the faculty showed notably different perceptions, practically all of them in the negative direction. The researchers concluded:

> Assuming comparable faculty samples in 1970 and 1971, there is evidence that the post open-admissions sample of faculty perceived the college environment as being less benign and supportive of students, less cohesive, and as having a diminution of academic and social standards, (1972, 11).

In short, early on in the move toward open admissions, the faculty felt that the college was deteriorating.

Other studies have attempted to determine how different groups of students view the environment. DeArmas and McDavis administered CUES to a sample of white, black, and Hispanic students in a community college and found significant differences in their perceptions of the environment. Pierog (1974) administered the community scale of CUES to a group of students equally divided between those of high and low socioeconomic backgrounds and found no significant difference between the groups in their perceptions of the institution.

Other surveys, using different instruments, have similarly sought to ascertain dimensions of the college environment and the relationships among them and student achievement. Bounds (1977) found that students in certificate and diploma programs had the most positive attitudes toward the college environment while those in the transfer programs had the most negative attitudes. Heck and Weible (1978) surveyed the students in a two-year college in Ohio and found them indicating less than ideal environmental conditions regarding their freedom to ask questions and express opinions in class, accessibility of instructors, academic advisement, and several other academic and social measures of the campus.

Attempts also have been made to assess the relationship between the community college environment and the environment of the surrounding district. Alkin and Hendrix (1967) related community characteristics; financial support for the colleges; and certain output measures such as students completing degrees, transferring, or obtaining relevant employment in order to discern relationships among those characteristics and the outcomes of community colleges in California. They found that around 85 percent of the variation in the percentage of students transferring was accounted for by such community variables as the percentage of families with certain income and years of schooling, the age of people in the district, and ethnicity. Higher associate degree completion rates were found in districts with fewer low-income-level families. The authors concluded that since district characteristics are unchangeable, not much variation in outcome is left for input characteristics that are mutable. Alfred (1975) similarly concluded that the impact of a two-year college on its students is related to variables associated more with the community than with the college's own environment.

Other researchers have sought relationships between intra-institutional environments and college outcomes, particularly student retention and dropout rates. Harrower et al. (1980) interviewed various groups of students (black, Hispanic, veteran, mature women, traditional, nontraditional, and former) asking why some students stay in college while others drop out. Findings were: most students agreed that the better students tended to get more help from the faculty; mature women, blacks, and veterans felt a lack of caring; blacks and mature women worried about finances, in particular the paucity of on-campus jobs; women and Hispanic students saw the financial aid office as understaffed and discriminatory; and faculty play a key role in student retention through their attitudes toward teaching and their caring or not caring about student success. McCarten (1986) similarly found that the faculty's attention to teaching and the courses themselves are the primary alterable variables in the college, much more influential than the counseling offices and the career centers.

One line of study of college environments has taken researchers into the institutions where they spend time visiting classrooms and talking with staff and students. Using this observational technique in a community college in Arizona, Richardson et al. (1983) found the staff placing few demands on students to read and write. London (1978) spent several months in a community college in Massachusetts, concluding that the institution supported the limited aspirations of its blue collar student population. Weis (1985) studied a community college in the northeast with a predominately black student population and found the students reproducing their own community culture within the institution. In her analysis she reported that students are not passive recipients of an education; instead they mediate and transform school values based on their own class, gender, race, and goals. The culture they produce mitigates the effect that the school can have on them. The students want to remain members of their own community even while they learn the codes of a new, school-based culture. The supportive network of family and friends contrasts with the individual attainment available in the college. The two desires conflict, with students embracing and rejecting the college at one and the same time. "Paradoxically the individual must place himself or herself outside of networks that enable survival in order to attempt survival in the cultural mainstream," (p. 126).

These various analyses of the community college environment affirm that the community college is not like a traditional institution with a faculty dedicated to inquiry, students committed to study, and a sequestered enclave that supports both. Nor is it like the community itself where argot changes rapidly, personal support groups dominate behavior, and irrationality may be more influential than the intellect. The college is somewhere between. The staff may want all their students to succeed but they dare not stray too far from the core academic model of literacy and rationality. The students dare not, or perhaps cannot, break from their own culture; three or four hours per week in class cannot overcome the influence of job, friends, family, and a lifetime of behavioral norms.

State Policies

The community college reflects the mores of its district, but it is also a product of the state. State policies and funding formulas in large measure determine patterns of curriculum, student access, and eventually student outcomes.

Kintzer and Wattenbarger (1985) studied state policies as they relate to the movement of students between community colleges and universities. The researchers found varying policies between states or between colleges in the same state resulting in inconsistent expectations for students, loss of credits by students who do transfer, and such reconcilable but irritating procedures as different institutional calendars. They found formal, legal policies in eight states where the legislature or the systemwide governing board spells out details regarding the movement of students between institutions: Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Massachusetts, Nevada, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Texas. These regulations specify the curriculums and examinations that shall be accepted by all units in the system. Important to such regulations are a common calendar and course-numbering system along with interinstitutional committees to consider the necessary details.

State system transfer policies not written into law were in effect in around 20 states, particularly where the universities and the community colleges were under the same organization, such as in Hawaii and Kentucky. Other states with general policies had intersegmental agreements in which one institution agrees to recognize the general education core and to give full credit for courses taken and grades earned. Not incidentally, the highest transfer rates have been in the states where the regulations are strictest.

States in a third category had only general policies affecting transfer, usually voluntary agreements achieved between institutions. These types of agreements, negotiated between the staff of the single sets of institutions, appear in around 15 states. Kintzer and Wattenbarger noted that in the prior 15 years the number of formal state articulation or transfer agreements had not increased substantially.

The states could do much to improve transfer rates. The experience of states where particular attention has been paid to developing interinstitutional relationships reveals what can happen: common course numbering, common calendars, mandates that universities accept community college credits at full faith, and revised funding formulas that reward community colleges for offering sophomore-level classes even when enrollments are low would do much for the transfer function.

Recommendations from the Literature

The various researchers, policy makers, and groups studying either the transfer function of community colleges, the movement of minority students through the educational system, or both, have made recommendations intended to smooth the flow of students from one type of institution to another. Most of them recognize that the only way to improve the transfer rates for minorities is to stimulate the community colleges and the universities to attend to the transfer function in its entirety. Those studying this issue also recognize that the numbers are deceptive: there are too many ways of counting transfers and the percentage of students transferring is particularly difficult to calculate (Cohen 1979). That percentage would go up if the colleges reduced the intake of students who are not likely to transfer as, for example, requiring that all students either matriculate in a degree program or stop taking classes for college credit. This would have the effect of reducing the denominator so that the transfer ratio would increase even if the absolute number stayed the same.

The most recent sets of recommendations have emanated from projects funded by the Ford Foundation under its Urban Community College Transfer Opportunities Program, as reported by the Center for the Study of Community Colleges (1985), Donovan et al. (1987), and Richardson and Bender (1987). The recommendations are summarized in this section, along with recommendations that Astin (1983) has made. Most of the recommendations refer to the policies that affect the movement of students between institutions or to the practices presumed to be influential in enhancing transfer awareness among the staff and students within institutions.

Some of the extramural policy recommendations include those that states should effect. A major recommendation is that state-level policies should be made more formal so that students who do desire to move from community colleges to universities find places available for them. This type of guaranteed admission at the junior level does much to stimulate transfer, especially when a university redirects many of its applicants for the freshman class to the local community colleges. Other state-level recommendations include building common student bases so that it is possible to track students through all the states' higher education institutions and gain better information on student flow, requiring that community colleges include between 15 and 30 transferable units in all programs and that the universities accept these units at full credit, and effecting a system of rewarding colleges that effect higher transfer rates.

Interinstitutional connections also can be made stronger if the staff within both sets of institutions work together to identify and encourage transfers. These interinstitutional connections are operative not only between community colleges and universities but also between community colleges and secondary schools. They include visits and faculty exchange between institutions, dual admission or advanced placement of students, and a variety of coordinated student support services including advisement and financial aid. Additional activities in the interinstitutional connection include collecting information on intentions from entering students, alerting the institution to which they are likely to transfer, and identifying the characteristics of successful transfers so that the information may be fed back to the sending institution.

The communication between staff members in different institutions has come in for a particular share of attention. Recommendations include: meetings between counselors and faculty members across institutional lines, course articulation agreements to minimize loss of credit, effecting a big brother or big sister arrangement so that former students can inform and motivate current students, checking course content and rigor to enhance parallelism, and building a financial aid consortium. This consortium would enable students who matriculate at community colleges with intentions of transferring to see just how financial aid packages will carry them through the community college and on into the university. This latter recommendation stems from the finding that lack of information about financial aid availability at an institution is a frequent cause of students' failing to make the bridge.

Many recommendations consider the community college environment itself. Within the colleges much can be done to change the climate so that transfer receives high priority. These recommendations include:

-- Student testing at entry and mandatory placement in classes in which the instruction is cast at their level.

-- Exit testing so that a data base is built on what students have learned.

-- Honors programs in which the better students are given a considerably enriched environment.

-- Increased employment of staff members from minority groups.

-- University courses offered at the community college so that students in effect obtain advanced placement.

Some of these recommendations are designed to be simply effected at minimal expense:

-- Including a special section in the college catalogue showing students how they can package courses and obtain continuing information about transfer requirements.

-- Preparing special information packets and distributing them to all students indicating transfer intentions.

-- Sending lists of potential transfers to the universities in the area so that early contact may be made by the receiving institutions.

-- Designating responsibility for transfer to a high academic officer.

-- Forming special transfer committees and task forces.

-- Emphasizing the employment of full-time staff members to teach transfer classes and, where that is not feasible, conducting training sessions regarding transfer for the part-time faculty members.

-- Conducting special orientation sessions for potential transfer students.

-- Building more writing and independent research assignments into the curriculum in all programs.

Many recommendations are designed to gain greater student involvement with the college. The campus designed for commuters suffers in comparison with a residential institution because its students have considerably less contact with the college. As a way of mitigating that marginal contact, community colleges have been encouraged to move toward:

-- Establishing week-end or week-long retreats for students anticipating transfer.

-- Organizing more cultural and social events designed to keep people on campus.

-- Enforcing required faculty office hours and regular conferences between students and advisors.

-- Organizing student study and peer support groups.

-- Making more on-campus employment opportunities available for students.

-- Organizing tours of universities and obtaining free or discounted tickets to university cultural events.

Note that practically all these recommendations relate to transfer for all students; they are not specifically for the advancement of minority students.

Conclusion

In contrast to their counterparts in universities, most students who enter community colleges probably have a lower commitment toward traditional collegiate studies that lead to the baccalaureate. Within the colleges they find fewer demands for concentrated involvement with their institution. While not actively hostile toward transfer, many of the colleges' practices seem to encourage students to attend in ways that do not foster progression toward a degree. Students who want to fulfill graduation requirements with minimal effort may select only those classes with the fewest reading and writing assignments. Students with undistinguished prior academic records often are required to take remedial courses that do not carry transfer credit. Classes offered in the evening and/or away from the main campus encourage students to attend part time while they are working. These policies have resulted in a drop-in, drop-out student population; in a maximum of access; and according to traditional measures, a minimum of attainment.

In general, degree attainment and transfer have been less a concern in community colleges because of the importance that the college leaders have placed on other functions. For the past 25 years occupational education that leads to direct employment has been high on the priority list. In at least 20 percent of the associate degree-granting colleges in the nation, those typically designated as technical institutes, occupational education ranks well ahead of transfer. The open door, the drive for access, the belief that the college should provide something for as many of its constituents as possible, the funding formulas that reward the institutions for high enrollments also militate against policies that might strengthen the transfer function.

For most of the students who begin higher education in the community college, the university freshman class is not an option; hence to say that the community college treats its students differently from the university makes for interesting but useless comparisons. Furthermore it is not possible to duplicate the university environment in a community college. No community college has a library with a million or more volumes, a faculty employing a sizeable number of research or teaching assistantships, or a selective admissions policy that ensures a student peer group of high academic achievement.

The question of whether community colleges are beneficial to minority student degree attainment is unresolved. If sizable percentages of minority students would not attend any college unless there were a community college available, then community colleges have certainly helped minorities. No one can get a degree unless they begin college somewhere. If the presence of a convenient community college discourages minorities from attending senior institutions, then for those students who wanted degrees the college has been detrimental. But that holds true only where a senior institution is an available option, certainly not the case for most community college matriculants.

The community colleges' emphasis on occupational studies has been blamed for the students' failure to transfer but the charge is not warranted because more students transfer from occupational programs than from so-called transfer programs. One apparent resolution, of the dilemma faced by students who wish to be prepared for immediate employment while at the same time not foreclose their options for further study, is in emphasizing the occupational programs that also carry transfer credit, such as those in the health and technology fields. The area of community college education that is out of step is the nondirective education that leads toward neither immediate employment possibilities nor toward successful transfer. This type of instruction, typically placed under the rubric of remedial or developmental education has the disadvantage of being open-ended; students cannot perceive a value in learning literacy with no visible payoff. A higher attention to strong academic supports for students in courses that carry transfer credit is the more useful option.

Where transfer links have been built between institutions in the same community, some notable effects have been achieved. Arizona State University (ASU) and the Maricopa Community College District began articulating programs in 1983 and by 1987 had 27 two-plus-two programs designed for students to take their first two years at the community college and then move on to ASU. Joint curriculum committees meet regularly and in many areas joint registration and financial aid packages have been effected. There is no institutional policy to divert freshmen from the university to the community college, but the advisors tend to recommend that students begin at the community college because they know that these interinstitutional programs are in effect.

In other states transfer is being stimulated by building sophisticated transfer centers within the community college. Staffed by knowledgeable counselors and faculty members, these centers provide information about transfer, coordinate visits by university faculty members, arrange to transport students to the university for visits and events, provide sample tests and textbooks so that students can anticipate university course work, arrange appointments for students to meet with university financial aid officers, and stimulate the collection of information about transfer opportunities. California has recently funded such transfer centers at around one-fifth of its colleges. Furthermore, the University of California is being stimulated to reduce its proportion of freshmen and sophomores and to redirect qualified students to community colleges with the guarantee that they will be admitted as juniors when they complete their lower division programs. Since this effort comes just when the demographics of the state show more minorities in high school and in the community colleges, it is bound to have a positive effect on minority student transfer.

Baccalaureate degree attainment for students entering community colleges cannot be brought to parity with that for students entering universities. The colleges have a number of functions; sending students on to the university is only one of them. However, for most students who began at a community college, the university was not a feasible alternative. For that reason alone, changes in the college environment should be made. Seeking those institutions that are at once feasibly arranged and most beneficial to transfer leads to agreements between pairs of proximate institutions, wherein the university and the community college work together at all levels to ease the transfer process: building two-plus-two curriculums, diverting freshmen, effecting joint financial aid packages, and so on. State policies that have similar intentions have a more generalized impact and are, of course, more difficult to erect because of the political processes involved. In between are a vast number of modest efforts such as a committee to work on a new brochure or a special orientation program for potential transfer students. Overall, the community colleges of the nation seem to be moving toward strengthening their transfer function. As they do, their sizable cohorts of minority students undoubtedly will benefit.

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IMPROVING BLACK STUDENT ACCESS AND ACHIEVEMENT IN U.S. HIGHER EDUCATION

Walter R. Allen

A crisis exists for Black college students (Billingsley 1981; Ballard 1973). Over the past 30 years, profound changes have occurred in Black student patterns of college attendance in the United States. Whereas previously the overwhelming majority of Black college students were enrolled in historically Black institutions, by 1973 that percentage had dropped significantly to roughly one-quarter (Anderson, 1984). Three-fourths of all Black students in college currently attend predominantly white institutions of higher learning (National Center for Education Statistics, 1982). An estimated 57% of all baccalaureate degrees awarded to Black students during 1978-1979 were granted by predominantly white colleges and universities (Deskins, 1983).

But these Black students on predominantly white campuses continue to be severely disadvantaged relative to white students in terms of persistence rates (Astin, 1982; Thomas, 1981; Di Cesare, 1972), academic achievement levels (Nettles, *et. al*., 1985; Smith and Allen, 1984); enrollment in advanced degree programs (Hall, Mays and Allen, 1984; Astin, 1982); and overall psychosocial adjustments (Allen, 1986, 1985; Fleming, 1984). Black students on historically Black campuses are disadvantaged relative to students (both Black and white) on white campuses in terms of family socioeconomic status (Thomas, 1984; Morris, 1979), and high school academic records (Astin and Cross, 1981). Caliber of university instructional faculty and facilities (Fleming, 1984; Williams, 1981), academic specializations selected (Thomas, 1984; Haynes, 1981), and enrollment in advanced study (Pearson and Pearson, 1985; Blackwell, 1982; Miller, 1981), are particularly lacking.

What happens to Black students at critical steps along the way between college entry, the election of a major field and graduation or dropping out? This paper looks at three student outcomes: academic performance, racial attitudes and college satisfaction, in a national sample of Black students who attended selected predominantly white and historically Black, state-supported universities. The paper explores relationships between student outcomes, student background characteristics, the nature of student experiences on the campus and the student's particular personality orientation.

Campus Race Differences

Past research suggests that the fit between Black students and white colleges is, in deed, not a very good one. Black students differ in fundamental ways from the white students commonly served by these schools. They, therefore, experience more adjustment difficulties, more limited academic success, and higher attrition rates with definite consequences for their aspirations.

Studies of Black students attending predominantly white postsecondary institutions commonly incorporate the following concerns regarding Black students: 1) their social and economic characters (Allen, 1982; Blackwell, 1982); 2) their levels of adjustment in predominantly white institutions (Fleming, 1984; Webster, Sedlacek and Miyares, 1979); and 3) their academic success (attrition rate) in these institutions (Braddock and Dawkins, 1981; Nettles, et. al., 1985).

Black students in college are different from their white peers in several respects, for example, the parents of Black students are typically urban, have fewer years of education, earl less, and work at lower status jobs than is true for the parents of white students (Blackwell, 1982; Bayer, 1972; Boyd, 1974).

Yet despite social and economic disadvantages, Black college students have the same, or higher aspirations than their white counterparts (Allen, 1986, 1985; Bayer, 1972; Gurin and Epps, 1975), but tend to attain these aspirations less often than white students. Lower educational attainment is pronounced for Black students in general, and for Black females in particular (Allen, 1986; Hall, Mays and Allen, 1984; Smith and Allen, 1984; Gurin and Epps, 1975). Black students attending predominantly white colleges apparently experience considerable adjustment difficulty. Many of the adjustment problems are common to all college students (Webster, 1979); but they also have additional problems. For instance, many of these students often find it necessary to create their own social and cultural networks given their exclusion (self and/or other-imposed) from the wider university community. Of all problems faced by Black students on white campuses, those arising from isolation, alienation, and lack of support seem to be most serious (Allen, 1986, 1985; Smith and Allen, 1984; Rosser, 1972).

Whether it is because of adjustment or other difficulties, Black students perform less well academically than their white peers. These academic difficulties of Black students on white campuses are often compounded by the absence of remedial/tutorial programs and information exchange with whites (i.e., faculty and students) (Hall, Mays and Allen, 1984). Despite the initial difficulties most Black students experience, many make the required adjustments and are academically successful in predominantly white institutions (Allen, 1986; Peterson et. al., 1978; Ballard, 1973).

Black Students on Black Campuses

In reviewing research on Black students attending historically Black colleges, it is useful to organize these studies into three groups. These studies commonly focus on: 1) student background and academic skills; 2) student academic development; and 3) student psychosocial development. Unlike studies of Black students on white campuses, this research tradition assumes a proper fit between students and institution. Comparisons of Black students on Black campuses with those on white campuses are often more conjecture rather than based on empirical/support. The presumption is that white campuses provide superior environments for Black student education. Much is made of differences between student populations at historically Black and predominantly white colleges. The typical parents of Black students on Black campuses earn less money, have lower educational achievement, hold lower status jobs, and are more often separated or divorced (Thomas, 1984; Morris, 1979;' Gurin and Epps, 1975). Consistent with observed economic discrepancies, typical Black students on Black campuses have lower standardized test scores and weaker high school backgrounds than do typical Black students on white campuses (Astin, 1981).

A natural outgrowth of comparisons of Black student populations on Black and white campuses is recognition of the "special mission" of Black colleges. To a large extent, Black colleges enroll students who might not otherwise be able to attend college because of financial or academic barriers (Thomas, McPartland and Gottfredson, 1981; Miller, 1981; Morris, 1979). These institutions pride themselves on their ability to take poor and less well-prepared Black students where they are, correct their academic deficiencies, and graduate them equipped to compete successfully for jobs or graduate/professional school placements in the wider society (Miller, 1981; National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, 1980).

When Black students on Black and white campuses are compared on the dimension of psychosocial development, those on Black campuses seem to fare much better. In an early study, Gurin and

Epps (1975) found that Black students who attend Black colleges possessed positive self images, strong racial pride, and high aspirations. More recently, Fleming (1984) demonstrated levels of psychosocial adjustment to be much higher for Black students on Black campuses, compared with those on white campuses.

In sum, the evidence suggests that Black students on Black campuses are more disadvantaged in socioeconomic and academic terms than are Black (or white) students on white campuses, but students on Black campuses display more positive psychosocial adjustments, significant academic gains, and greater cultural awareness/commitment.

Student Gender Differences

Researchers have identified persistent differences in the college experiences of men and women. As might be expected, these differences cross the color line. In one of the earlier, more comprehensive comparison of Black men and women attending Black colleges, Gurin and Epps (1975) found that:

- Women's goals were lower on all measures of educational and occupational aspirations.
- Males are three times more likely to plan to pursue the Ph.D. degree.
- Women were more likely to aspire to jobs in the "female sector" of the economy, jobs that required less ability and effort while providing lower prestige.
- Males were more likely to be influenced in their goals and aspirations by the college attended.

In general, they found that Black females experienced a clear disadvantage compared to Black men on the Black campuses studied.

Gurin and Epps (1975) studied Black students enrolled in ten traditionally Black institutions from 1964-1970. Roughly ten years later Fleming (1984) studied a comparable sample of 3,000 Black college students, expanded to incorporate students attending predominantly white colleges. Fleming found that white males on white campuses, and Black males on Black campuses, derived far more benefits from college than was true for Black women.

Patterns were reversed for the Black males studied by Fleming; they suffered most on white campuses and were most satisfied on Black campuses. On white campuses Black males were withdrawn and unhappy, feeling themselves to have been treated unfairly. In addition, they experienced considerable academic demotivation. At the other extreme were Black males on Black campuses who, like white males on white campuses, felt potent and "in charge."

Findings from a study of Black students on white campuses further elaborate gender differences in educational experiences and outcomes (Smith and Allen, 1984; Allen, 1986). Analysis of a national sample of over 700 undergraduate students revealed that Black males were more likely than Black females to have both high aspirations and good grades. This was a surprising finding given the fact that on the average Black females in this sample out-performed Black males in the classroom as measured by grade point average. When Black males and Black females with comparable achievement levels were compared, the males consistently reported higher post-graduate aspirations. Thomas (1984) found that their occupational aspirations are highest and least traditional when Black females attend private campuses.

The Study:Research Questions

This report examines a wide range of research questions centered around three student outcomes: academic performance, racial attitudes and college satisfaction. How these characteristics are related to the student's gender and campus race context are of primary concern. The study is also concerned with three sets of causal factors judged to be antecedent to and explanatory of observed differences in student outcomes. These antecedent factors may be grouped into the following categories: student background factors (e.g., parent's socioeconomic status, high school academic record); student college experiences (e.g., involvement in campus life, academic competitiveness of the university, adjustment to college life and race relations on the campus); and student personality orientation (e.g., self-concept and occupational aspirations). The key research questions addressed in this study follow.

1. How does student academic performance vary in relation to student background, campus experiences and personality orientation?

2. How do student racial attitudes vary in relation to student background, campus experiences and personality orientation?

3. How does student satisfaction with college vary in relation to student background, campus experiences and personality orientation?

4. What is the relative importance of student background factors, campus experiences and personality orientation in the prediction of academic performance?

Sample and Data

The data for this article are from the National Study of Black College Students (NSBCS), housed at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. This study collected several waves of data on the achievements, experiences, attitudes, and backgrounds of Black undergraduate students attending selected state-supported universities. All of the institutions participating in the 1981 and 1983 NSBCS were selected on the basis of regional diversity and accessibility. The population for both years of study were currently enrolled, Black American, undergraduates.

The research design relied on research collaborators on each of the participating campuses. Data were collected using mailed questionnaires which students returned directly to the University of Michigan via Business Reply mail for coding and computer tabulation. The selection of students for participation in the study was random, based on lists of currently enrolled students supplied by the various university Registrars' offices. Selected students received the questionnaire and four follow-up reminder mailings.

The 1981 phase of the study collected data from Black undergraduates at six predominantly white, public universities (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; University of California, Los Angeles; Arizona State University, Tempe; Memphis State University; and the State University of New York, Stony Brook). In contrast, the 1983 phase of the NSBCS collected data from Black undergraduates at eight predominantly Black, public universities (North Carolina Central University, Durham; Southern University, Baton Rouge, LA; Texas Southern University, Houston; Jackson State University, Jackson, MS; North Carolina A&T State University; Central State University, Greensboro; Morgan State University, Baltimore, MD; Wilberforce, OH; and Florida A&M University, Tallahassee). Both data sets were merged to compare and contrast students at predominantly white versus traditionally Black universities. The final response rate for the 1981 undergraduate study is 27 percent, while the 1983 undergraduate response rate is 35 percent; together the data sets include 1,583 students.

Measures

Three measures of student outcomes are used in this report: student academic performance, satisfaction with college, and racial attitudes.

Academic performance was measured by the respondent's reported grade point average. Respondent racial attitudes are measured using four different items. The items asked respondents to indicate whether they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed with each of the following statements:

> "There is a need for a national Black political party . .
>
> "Interracial dating and marriage are equally as acceptable as within race dating and marriage. . .
>
> "Schools with majority Black student populations should have a majority of Black teachers and administrators. . .
>
> "There is a great deal of unity and sharing among Black students at this university..."

Conservative racial attitudes are defined as students who reject the national Black political party, who oppose interracial dating or marriage, who oppose majorities of teachers/administrators in Black majority schools, and who judge Black unity and sharing to be low.

Student satisfaction with college is measured by four items, the first asked about campus activities:

> "How much do you, as a Black student, feel part of general campus life, insofar as student activities and government are concerned? not at all...(1) to considerable...(4).

The second measure of student satisfaction with college, whether the student had considered leaving school, is discussed above. The final two indicators of student satisfaction with college asked the student about the quality of personal relationships with white faculty and white staff at the University:

> "How would you characterize your relations with whites at this university?"
>
> Faculty?: excellent...(1) to very poor...(4)
>
> Staff people?: excellent...(1) to very poor...(4)

The independent or predictor variables used in the multiple regression analyses for this study can be placed into three groups:

1. Background factors: including campus race, student sex, mother's education, and high school grade point average.

2. Campus experience factors: including feelings of involvement in campus life, level of academic competition at the university, whether considered leaving and relations with whites at the university.

3. Social psychological factors: including respondent self-concept, racial attitude index and occupational aspirations.

Limitations of the Study

The study was purposely restricted to state-supported universities, even though there is a sizeable group of black students who attend private universities or colleges. Thus some findings from this research may not be applicable to private institutions. Questions can also be raised about the representativeness of the students who participated in this study. The 16 universities included in this study were purposely selected to maximize regional diversity and to insure university and research collaborator cooperation. Thus this study does not necessarily have a random or representative sample of all the state-supported universities nationally that Black students attend.

Sizeable non-response rates pose another possible source of bias in the study. It may well be that our sample is biased by the inclusion of students with special motives to respond (e.g., those who are most satisfied or most dissatisfied with college).

Possible sources of error also result from the study's methodology. Self-completed questionnaires are often subject to bias arising from misunderstood questions and/or inconsistent answers. It may well be that ethnographic or institutional studies would be more appropriate methodologies. Certainly, these methods would help to supplement and enrich the data presented in this study.

The Findings: Tests of Bivariate Research Hypotheses

Academic performance is found to vary in relation to student background, campus experiences and personality orientation. Black students on Black campuses report significantly higher grade point averages than is true for their peers on white campuses. Three-quarters of students in the white campus group, versus two-thirds of students in the Black campus group, report grade point averages of less than 3.0 on a four-point scale. Observed gender differences are also true to our expectations, males report significantly higher grade point averages. These differences are less pronounced, however, than are differences between Black and white campuses. Females are only slightly more likely than males to report grade point averages below 3.0, 72 percent versus 68 percent. Grades are significantly higher for students who have not seriously contemplated leaving school and for students who find their interests reflected in campus activities. Grades are also significantly higher for students who report favorable relationships with faculty and staff, and who have high educational aspirations.

Student racial attitudes do, in fact, vary by student background, campus experiences and personality orientation. A sizeable 62 percent of the women, versus 54 percent of males, consider interracial dating to be unacceptable. This difference is statistically significant. Females are also significantly less likely to see a high degree of unity among Black students on their campuses, 52 percent of women versus 57 percent men report a great deal of unity among Black students.

Black students on white campuses are significantly more likely to describe unity among Black students on the campus negatively, 44 versus 62 percent judged Black student unity to be very low. Black students on the different race campuses seem equally likely to consider interracial dating acceptable, in both settings 41 percent of students approve.

Student racial attitudes are significantly related to economic background in only one instance (Table 1): students from higher income families are more accepting of interracial dating. Student assessment of the degree of unity among Black students on campus is strongly related to having more positive feelings about and greater involvement with campus life. Students reporting positive relations with white faculty and staff, and whose who find their interests reflected in campus activities are significantly more likely to report the Black student community on campus as beset with disunity. By the same token students who had not considered leaving school are significantly more likely to see disunity and discord among Blacks on the campus. One can only conjecture.

Student satisfaction with college, like the other outcome variables, shows important differences by student gender and campus race. Males are much more likely to report those activities as somewhat or considerably representative of their interests, 56 versus 52 percent. On Black campuses, two-thirds of the students report campus activities as being somewhat or considerably representative of their interests. On white campuses the comparable figure is 38 percent. While 26 percent of students on Black campuses feel that campus activities considerably represent their interests, only eight percent of Black students on white campuses are so positive. At the other extreme, twice as many students on white campuses report campus activities as not at all representing their interests (19 percent), versus the students on Black campuses who express dissatisfaction (10 percent) with campus activities.

Results from correlational analyses show that mother's education and family income, our measures of student economic background, are not statistically related with whether a student has considered leaving college (Table 1). There are no clear, consistent patterns by family income. Student relations with staff are significantly less favorable where family income is highest, the same is true for relations with white faculty, although not significantly so. This finding is clarified when we remember that Black student family incomes are highest on white campuses, the very settings where relations with white faculty and staff have been shown to be most negative. The pattern of high family socioeconomic status and poor relations with white faculty and staff is repeated for mother's education, where the general (but not statistically significant) trend is toward more negative relations for students with highly educated mothers.

Student gender and campus race effects are a major focus of this study, therefore, we turn to an assessment of these factors. Males are more likely to claim excellent relations with white faculty and staff. Twenty-four percent of male students (versus 19 percent of females) claim to be on excellent terms with white faculty at their university, while 20 percent of the men (compared to 15 percent of women) report excellent relations with white staff.

Differences by campus race in relations with white faculty and staff are striking, the proportion of black students on Black campuses claiming excellent relations with white faculty (26 versus 15 percent) and with white staff (22 versus 12 percent) nearly exceeds by twice the proportions on white campuses. For whatever reason(s), Black students are significantly more favorable about their relations with white faculty and white staff when these occurred in a predominantly Black, as opposed to white, environment.

Comparisons of mothers' education, an important personal background factor, reveal significant campus race differences. Nearly a third of students on white campuses report that their mothers graduated from college, 11 percent hold advanced degrees. By comparison, only 22 percent of mothers of students attending Black schools graduated from college, 9 percent hold advanced degrees. Comparing the lower end of the educational ladder, a third of mothers with children attending Black colleges, versus a quarter of mothers of students on white campuses, had not graduated from high school. When students are compared by sex no substantial differences in mothers' educational attainment is revealed.

Significant differences by gender and campus race are apparent when we compare student grades in high school. Females were clearly the better student grades in high school, well over a third of females, compared to a quarter of males, reported high school grade point averages of 3.5 or better on a four-point scale. Just under three-quarters of the females had averages of 3.0 or better; the comparable figure for males being 60 percent. The high school academic superiority of Black students on white campuses is uncontestable, nearly half the students on white campuses, versus 18 percent of students on Black campuses, report averages of 3.5 or better.high school to college are nothing short of spectacular. When we are reminded of these student's college grade point averages, the observed declines in academic performance from high school to college are nothing short of spectacular. Females experience a more drastic decrease in academic performance with the move from high school to college. In this connection, it should be kept in mind that college programs tend to be more male-dominated environments than was true of the elementary and secondary school years which these females attended.

Males and females display significant and traditional differences in college major, although to a slightly lesser extent than would have been true twenty years ago. Compared with men, women are significantly overrepresented in the social sciences (21 versus 18 percent), the human service professions -- e.g., social work, nursing (14 versus 10 percent) and the humanities (7 versus 4 percent). They are significantly underrepresented in the natural and life sciences (8 versus 11 percent) and the entrepreneurial professions -- e.g., business, engineering (48 versus 56 percent).

Race of campus is also a significant differentiating factor in student major fields. Seventy-three percent of students on Black campuses, versus half of students on white campuses, chose to major in some profession. The entrepreneurial professions attract 57 percent of professional majors on Black campuses and 43 percent of majors on white campuses. Fifteen percent of professional majors on Black campuses, versus eight percent on white campuses, were in the human service professions. Black students seem no more (or less) likely to major in the natural and life sciences dependent on campus race. Black students on white campuses are, however, considerably more likely to major in the social sciences (24 versus 16 percent) and the humanities (9 versus 3 percent).

Females are more likely to report the level of academic competition on campus as falling in the highest category -- "considerable amount," 39 versus 28 percent. The differences by campus race in the sensed level of academic competition on campus is nothing short of profound. Sixty-one percent of students on white campuses use the highest possible category to report the level of academic competition, 93 percent use one of the top two categories. The comparable figures for Black students on Black campuses are 13 and 64 percent.

Finally, we come to student relationships with faculty, our last measure of campus experiences. It is interesting to note in this connection that the two categories of students who feel the most academic pressure, females and those on white campuses, also report the least favorable relationships with faculty. Women often claim less "excellent" relations with faculty (19 versus 24 percent); the same is true for students on white campuses (15 versus 26 percent).

As expected, males and females are comparable on their levels of self-concept. Further, it is not surprising to find the sample characterized by high self-concept (only 21 percent of the total sample rated self average or below). These students are more likely to rate themselves high (32 versus 25 percent) and above average 55 versus 52 percent).

Males are significantly more likely to strive to reach the top of their intended professions, 63 versus 53 percent. Needless to say, the realities of differences in sex socialization patterns and in the respective responsibilities assigned men and women in the family must be factored into our interpretations of these differences. It is also necessary for us to recognize the potentially dampening effects of sparse female representation at the top of most professions, on the kinds of occupational goals that younger females set for themselves. The absence, or scarcity of female role models in high-ranking professional positions places subtle, yet powerful, limitations on women's ideas of the possible as they outline their career plans and aspirations.

Black students on white campuses are considerably more likely than Black students on Black campuses to anticipate future occupations in the highest prestige category (e.g., judge, corporate executive, physician), by a margin of 26 to 13 percent. This fact, coupled with the greater intensity of academic competition, may explain why Black students on white campuses report lower occupational eminence strivings. Black students on white campuses may well adjust their eminence striving downward due to a clearer understanding of the competitive odds likely to be encountered. Females are significantly less likely to report occupational goals in the highest prestige category (16 versus 22 points). For females career strivings and career goals are consistently depressed. This pattern gives credence to hypotheses which point to gender discrimination, and subsequent psychological adjustments, as factors restricting the goal-setting and goal-striving behaviors of women.

Minor, but interesting differences, by gender are apparent in educational aspirations. Women are more likely to indicate the Bachelor's degree as their ultimate goal (33 versus 30 percent). Interestingly, roughly a third of the total sample do not plan to go beyond the Bachelor's of Arts (B.A.) degree. Females are less likely than males to aspire to the prestigious Medical (M.D.) or Jurisprudence (J.D.) degree (15 versus 19 percent), although they are equally likely to aspire to doctorate (Ph.D.) degrees. Black students on Black campuses are more likely to set their sights on Masters (M.A.) level degrees |(44 versus 32 percent), probably because of the disproportionate enrollment on Black campuses in professional training programs where the terminal degree is in Social Work (M.S.W.), Business (M.B.A.), or Regional Planning (M.R.P.). Black students on Black campuses are also more likely than Black students on white campuses to report the Ph.D. degree as their ultimate goal (17 versus 8 percent). On the other hand, Black students attending white universities are significantly more likely than Black students on Black campuses to aspire to prestigious terminal degrees in medicine or law (29 versus 8 percent).

Results from regression analysis of academic performance on student background, campus interpersonal relationships and psychological orientation predictors using the total sample are summarized in Table 2 (See Table 1 for variable intercorrelations, means and standard deviations). Contrary to expectations, Black student relations with whites on the campus are not significantly correlated with academic performance. Happier, more satisfied students do not necessarily have higher college grade point averages. It is interesting to note how the strong zero-order relationships between college grades and relations with whites on campus is diminished when other variables (e.g., student background factors) are entered as controls. Whether a student's interests are reflected in campus activities, whether she has satisfactory relations with whites and how she perceives academic competition is not strongly predictive of college grades. College grades are correlated with whether a student has considered leaving school (although not significantly so), grades were higher for those students who had not seriously considered leaving school.

Student background factors are strongly related to student college grades. High school grade point average is the strongest predictor of college grades for this sample. Students whose grades were high in high school are significantly more likely to have college grade point averages. Consistent with our expectation and the preliminary analyses reported above, both gender of student and race of campus are significant predictors of student academic performance in college. College race is the second strongest single predictor of academic performance, while student gender is also strongly predictive of grades. Students on Black campuses and males were significantly more likely to report higher college grades.

For the most part student academic performance was not significantly related to personality orientation in these data. This finding came as a surprise; we had expected students with high self-concept, strong race consciousness and high occupational goals to have better grades. The one exception to this pattern is provided by the strong correlation between college grades and student educational aspirations. The grades of students with high educational aspirations were significantly higher. To the extent that students set high educational goals for the future, their current academic performance seemed to be consistent.

Interpretation of Findings

Central in the determination of how individual and institutional characteristics influence Black student experiences in higher education are students' interpersonal relationships. Interpersonal relationships form the bridge between individual dispositions and institutional tendencies; together these factors determine student outcomes. The way a student perceives and responds to events in the college setting will differentiate the college experience. What she does when confronted with difficult subject matter or how she handles the uncertainty of being a freshman, will determine whether the experience is positive or negative in its consequences.

Black student college outcomes can be reasonably viewed as resulting from a two-stage process. Taking the case of academic performance to illustrate this point and the theoretical model implicit in this conceptualization, we are led to conclude the following. Whether a student successfully completes college and whether that student graduates with "Honors" is no doubt sizably influenced by individual characteristics. How bright the student is, the level of background preparation, the intensity of personal ambition and striving, will all influence academic performance outcomes. Beyond these personal traits, however, is a set of more general factors-characteristics more situational and interpersonal in nature. Therefore, the student's academic performance will also be affected by the quality of life at the institution, the level of academic competition, university rules/procedures/resources, relationships with faculty and friend-support networks.

In discussing the aspiration-attainment process nearly 20 years ago, Rehberg and Westby (1967) introduced the vital notion of facilitation. The concept is useful here for its focus on the fact that the attainment process is influenced by a combination of institutional, individual and interactional factors. The educational goals and activities of Black students are acted out in specific social environments which affect not only their context, but their possibilities for realization as well. Actors in the setting, indeed the setting itself, can either facilitate or frustrate the efforts of Black students to achieve high academic performance (Allen, 1985).

Discussion

The challenge confronting interested researchers, educators and policymakers today is to identify factors and formulate strategies which will improve the educational experiences and outcomes of Black students in U.S. higher education. In seeking answers to the wide range of complex questions, it is helpful to compare student experiences on Black and white campuses. In the case of Black campuses, Black students purchase psychological well-being and spiritual affinity at the cost of less than favorable physical circumstances. In the case of white campuses, Black students purchase richly endowed physical circumstances and bureaucratic efficiency at the cost of less than favorable interpersonal relations and peace of mind. In a variation on these themes, Black women are forced to choose between self-assertion and male companionship or between the pursuit of non-traditional careers and personal happiness. These are unfair, unnecessary, choices bred from our society's historic institutionalization of the inequities of race, gender and class. Until these inequities are corrected at their source, Black students in higher education -- indeed the entire educational process at this level -- will continue to suffer. The ideal goal of educational change for Black students in higher education over the coming years should be to combine the better qualities of Black and white campuses.

A significant study by Ogbu (1975) comparing minority education cross-culturally in six countries (Japan, Israel, the United States, Britain, New Zealand, and India) revealed similarities in the negative myths about, and the inferior educational opportunities provided, disadvantaged groups. The effect of this pattern universally was to "institutionalize" the low status of discriminated groups and by so doing to perpetuate their low educational attainment. Education is a valued social resource, thus its allocation will be subject to the dynamics of power in any society. In the U.S., prevailing views of Blacks, other minorities, women and the poor have encouraged definition of them as uneducable, poorly motivated, and low achievers. These views have reinforced (and been reinforced by) their concentration in society's deviant categories, low prestige occupations, low income neighborhoods and low educational achievement categories.

Improving the effectiveness of Black postsecondary education remains a pivotal issue in the future of this society. For,

> "Education remains the primary lever by which the racial situation in this country can be controlled and changed -- not simply at the college level, but also in high schools, elementary schools, and day-care centers, where today hundreds of thousands of Black youth are being separated from the elemental knowledge necessary for them to compete equally with whites when they become adults." (Ballard 1973: p. 143)

It is, therefore, incumbent upon universities and the education system in general to improve the quality of schooling for Black Americans.

Over the past 30 years Black Americans have made unparalleled gains in the elimination of illiteracy, in the proportion enrolled in school, and in the mean years of schooling completed (Reid 1982). In fact, by 1980 Black Americans were indistinguishable from whites on these dimensions. However, what does distinguish Blacks from whites are the returns on their educations and the consequent, persistent economic inequities. Thus, the average white male high school graduate has earnings that exceed those of a Black male college graduate (Abramowitz 1976: p.204). By the same token, the 1977 unemployment rate for white male high school dropouts was equal to that for Black male college graduates (Hill 1979).

A common response to such glaring inequities is to retreat into questions about the "quality" of education received by Black Americans (Newman, et. al. 1978). Hidden in this ploy is the implicit, and unacceptable, assumption that all white Americans -- by virtue of their color -- receive the same quality of education. Previously, Black Americans were told that they did not have enough education; now the message is that they have enough education, but it is unfortunately the wrong kind. Credence is granted the well-founded suspicion of Black Americans toward such explanations by Hare and Levine (1983) who remind that

> "...the school plays a unique role in allocating people to different positions in the division of labor through routing and grading practices. Relative success in school is, in fact, the major avenue through which discrimination in the job market is justified. Given racism as well as sexism and classism in a stratified American, it can be argued that the disproportional allocation of Blacks, other people of color, women and people of lower class origin to the lowest labor slots is functional and their relative academic failure is essential to getting the job done." (p. 19)

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Table 1
Correlation Matrix of Variables in Study: Means and Standard Deviations of Variables

Variable		N	Minimum	Maximum	MEAN	STD DEV
MALE	SEX	1580	0	1.0000	.39747	.48953
WHTCOL	CAMPUS RACE	1583	0	1.0000	.43904	.49643
MEDUC	MOTHER'S EDUCATION	1511	4.5000	20.000	12.205	3.7929
FAMINC	FAMILY INCOME	1462	1.0000	17.000	5.8625	3.8286
HSGPA	HIGH SCHOOL GRADE POINT AVERAGE	1376	1.0000	4.0000	3.1212	.54691
UGPA	COLLEGE GRADE POINT AVERAGE	1497	1.0000	4.0000	2.6746	.48994
LEAVE	CONSIDER LEAVING THE UNIVERSITY	1560	0	1.0000	.36731	.48223
CAMPUSL	FEEL PART OF CAMPUS LIFE	1571	1.0000	4.0000	2.5729	.93971
COMPETE	ACADEMIC COMPETITION ON CAMPUS	1574	1.0000	4.0000	3.3170	.74575
RELUNIVX	RELATIONS WITH WHITES INDEX	1547	1.0000	12.000	5.4454	1.8717
STFACREL	RELATIONS WITH WHITE FACULTY	1494	1.0000	4.0000	1.9418	.63178
STSTAFFER	RELATIONS WITH WHITE STAFF	1378	1.0000	4.0000	2.0334	.65705
STSTUREL	RELATIONS WITH WHITE STUDENTS	1436	1.0000	4.0000	1.8948	.64073
RATTINDX	RACIAL ATTITUDES INDEX	1564	0	4.0000	2.5627	.87403
BKPRTY	NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL PARTY	1536	0	1.0000	.77148	.42001
MIXDATE	INTERRACIAL DATING	1542	0	1.0000	.58885	.49220
BCNTRL	BLACK CONTROLLED SCHOOLS	1542	0	1.0000	.70039	.45824
UNITY	BLACK STUDENT UNITY	1544	0	1.0000	.54080	.49849
FUTOCC	OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS	1499	1.0000	96.000	70.594	16.125
SELFEST	SELF ESTEEM	1550	1.0000	4.0000	3.0619	.69679
HOWFARSC	EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS	1498	1.0000	4.0000	2.1195	1.0009
WHNSUCC	CAREER STRIVING	1507	1.0000	5.0000	4.2236	1.1395

Table 2

Regression of Academi
on Predictors Tot

Predictor Variables	Regression Coefficient	S E
Intercept	1.53	.
Mother's Education	-.002	.
High School Grade Average	.227	.
Gender	-.058	.
College Race	.206	.
Campus Activities	.022	.
Academic Competition	-.025	.
Consider Leaving	.133	.
Relations with Whites	-.011	.
Self-Concept	-.029	.
Racial Attitudes	-.003	.
Occupational Aspirations	-.001	.
Educational Aspirations	.088	.

Multiple R = .394
Multiple R-Square = .155*
Standard Error = .450
N = 1084

* = significant at the .05 level
** = significant at the .01 level

Table 2

f Academic Performance
ctors Total Sample

sion cient	Standard Error	Partial Regression Coefficient
	.176**	
2	.004	-.013
7	.027	.246**
8	.029	-.061**
6	.033	.187**
2	.016	.043
5	.023	-.033
3	.029	.137
1	.008	-.041
9	.020	-.043
3	.014	-.007
1	.001	-.018
8	.015	.183**

1

FACULTY ISSUES AFFECTING MINORITIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

James E. Blackwell

One-third of a century has passed since the U.S. Supreme Court decreed in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas that racial segregation is unconstitutional. Fifteen years have disappeared since affirmative action in higher education was promulgated as national policy. And, fifteen years have passed since the decision in the Adams v. Richardson case ordered the dismantling of dual systems of publicly supported colleges and universities. Collectively, these decisions were viewed as sources of immense inspiration, heightened expectations, and strengthened beliefs that laws, if fully implemented, could be a powerful instrument for creating the type of educational change necessary for expanded educational opportunity for all Americans. Yet, a compelling argument can be made in 1987 for the proposition that even the most fundamental promises emanating from such momentous court actions have not fulfilled or approximated the original expectations. Instead, there are significant signs of retrogression and assaults against those modest but important achievements gained toward equality of educational opportunity. These retreats coincide with widespread pronouncements that America must become more competitive and that the nation needs to develop all its human resources for the continued achievement of national interests.

Perhaps, it is precisely that recognition of unfulfilled promises and the apprehensions expressed by many educators and policy makers that frames the current context for urgent actions. For without immediate purposeful intervention, even those gains already attained may be diluted. Hence, understanding the problems associated with generating a more equitable share of baccalaureate degrees among members of minority groups achieves a special salience in 1987.

A central purpose of this paper is to delineate and analyze pertinent faculty issues that affect the attainment of the baccalaureate degree by minorities in the United States.

However, it also is appropriate to underscore the importance of parallel issues and contributing factors to the status of minorities in faculty positions in American colleges and universities. The issues and factors will illuminate the complex nature of the problem. For instance, faculty issues are described as slippages in efforts to move increasing numbers of underrepresented minority persons into the educational mainstream, fluctuations and declines in the numbers of faculty members from minority groups, downturns in the college-going rates of students identified as members of racial or ethnic minority groups; impediments to retention and attainment of baccalaureate degrees among minority group members, and the quality of life experienced by members of minority groups at American colleges and universities.

Although parameters and constraints imposed on this paper preclude a detailed exposition of each of the aforementioned points, at least modest attention to some of them is vital at this juncture. As will be stressed in the succeeding section, downturns in the college-going rates of minority group students are occurring at precisely the time when there is an increase in the absolute numbers of minority group students graduating from high school (Arbiter 1987; Blackwell 1985, 1987).

A number of researchers have observed a myriad of problems with the retention of minority group members (Allen 1987; Richardson, Simmons, and de los Santos, Jr. 1987; Thomas 1981; Valverde 1985). Factors associated with retention and barriers to retention to the attainment of the baccalaureate degree have been the subject of an avalanche of studies (Adams 1987, Allen 1987, Anderson 1985; Astin 1975, 1982; Bennett and Okinaka 1984; Christoffel 1986; Cope and Hannah 1975; Duran 1983; Edmunds 1984; Guloyan 1986; Magallen 1983; Nettles 1986; Pantages and Creedon 1975; and Thompson 1983).

Similarly, there has been an explosion of research devoted to strategies for improving minority retention (Asher 1984; Allen 1982; Catalano 1985; Clewell and Ficklen 1987; Cross 1985; Lee 1985; Maldonado and Cross 1979; Mallinckrodt and Sedkacek 1987; McCool 1984; Perr 1981; Pruitt and Issacs 1985; Richardson, Simmons, and de los Santos 1987; Rugg 1982; Richardson and Gerlach 1980; Suen 1983; Valverde 1985; White and Brown 1980). Even this litany of references cannot fully portray the enormity of research on attrition, persistence, or retention. Clearly, this problem is the focus of widespread interest among researchers and policy makers in higher education. Not only do minority dropouts from college ranks reduce the proportion of minorities who possess the baccalaureate degree, the dropouts exacerbate efforts to produce large numbers of minority graduate and professional school students as well as place major limitations on the potential number of minorities eligible for faculty and administrative positions in many colleges and universities.

The Educational Pipeline and the Production of Faculty

Systematic analyses of the educational pipeline reveal a number of slippage points in postsecondary education of students from minority groups (Astin 1982; Blackwell 1987; Reed 1983). This slippage is critical to the current treatment of faculty issues. One of the major concerns is the availability of minority group members for teaching and/or administrative positions in those institutions that require each faculty member to have a doctoral degree.

Almost 40,000 fewer blacks were enrolled in college in 1984 than in 1976 (Christoffel 1986). The data provided in Astin's (1982) research depicted slippage points for blacks, native Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and whites. The groups were identified at all transition points or at college, graduate, and professional school levels. Each of these points can be described as sphincters that reduce or shrink the numbers and proportions of subjects who are able to move on to the next point within the educational system. He showed that 72 percent of Blacks graduate from high school but only 29 percent enter college; 12 percent graduate from college; 8 percent enter a graduate or professional school and only 4 percent complete graduate or professional school education. Among Hispanics, the high school completion rate is 55 percent whereas the college completion rate is reduced to 7 percent (even though 22 percent of Chicano high school graduates and 25 percent of Puerto Rican high school graduates enter college). Only 2 percent of the Hispanics in this pipeline complete a college or professional school degree. American Indians also have a high school completion rate of 55 percent. However, only 17 percent enter college and that number is further reduced to 6 percent for college graduates and only 2 percent graduate from a graduate or professional school. That percentage represents a 50 percent loss from the 4 percent who entered a graduate or professional school. By contrast, white Americans have an 83 percent high school completion rate; 38 percent enter college while 23 percent receive a baccalaureate degree; 14 percent enter a graduate or professional school and 8 percent complete that training (Astin 1982).

One of the explanations for the dramatic losses of blacks, native Americans, and Hispanics from college lies in the fact that such a huge proportion of them are matriculated in two-year community/junior colleges (Blackwell 1987; Christoffel 1986; Grant and Eiden 1985; Reed 1986). It is estimated that three-fifths of the total college enrollment of native Americans are found in these institutions. In terms of their proportions, native Americans are followed by 54 percent for Hispanics, 43 percent for blacks and 36 percent for whites (Grant and Eiden 1985; Reed 1986).

Not unexpectedly, there is a white monopoly on enrollment in graduate schools. This monopoly has far-reaching implications for access, training, and production of minorities with the educational requisites for faculty positions in colleges and universities. Simply put, if minorities cannot gain access to graduate education and if significant numbers possessing the doctoral degree are not produced, the obvious consequence is a limited pool of minority group members and a sustained volume of white persons deemed eligible for these positions. Prior to an explication of some of the factors that contribute to the continuing underrepresentation of minority group students in graduate schools, further attention should be focused on enrollment trends.

As is shown in Table 1, the total enrollment in graduate schools in the United States declined by 1.4 percent between 1976 and 1984, the last year for which reliable data are available. Although white students comprised 83.9 percent of graduate enrollment in 1976 and despite the fact that they experienced a 5.4 percent decline between that year and 1984, white students still held about 8 of every 10 (80.5 percent) slots in our nation's graduate schools in 1984. While all minorities experienced a loss of 3.0 percent enrollment during that time frame, the most alarming attrition was among black graduate students whose representation fell by 22.4 percent in less than 10 years. The loss for native Americans was almost 10 percent. By contrast, while losses were evidenced among other groups, Asian Americans were buoyed by a gigantic increase of 48.1 percent and Hispanic enrollment in graduate schools climbed by 14.4 percent. In absolute numbers, Asians gained almost 9,000 graduate students and Hispanics gained approximately 3,000 graduate students. Black Americans, however, lost about 15,000 graduate school students between 1976 and 1984. White Americans lost almost 50,000 graduate students and American natives actually lost about 300 students.

Many explanations have been offered to account for these patterns. For whites, the most consistent theme appears to be that upturns in the economy have accelerated their economic opportunities in other areas which make graduate school participation less appealing and unprofitable. Whites have expanded opportunities in business and industry that even in an economic growth situation, are not as readily available to racial and some ethnic minorities in the United States. Explanations offered to account for the declining presence of blacks in graduate schools include inadequate financial aid and lack of institutional commitment to the recruitment of black students. Unlike the decade of the 1960s and pre-Bakke 1970 years, the recruitment of black students for graduate education does not have a high priority. Consequently, either there is no recruitment or recruitment is not aggressive. Other reasons for the declining presence of blacks in graduate schools include the paucity of black faculty, an unfavorable institutional climate, the unwillingness among black students to incur enormous debts to finance graduate education, inadequate college preparation, and faculty indifference to the need for diversity among the graduate student body (Blackwell 1987).

The financial dimension of access, retention and production of potential faculty members from minority groups may be gleaned from the data in Table 2. Racial and ethnic differences in methods used to support graduate education are quite apparent. Not only is that pattern revealed, it also is evident that declines in federal assistance to graduate education have had an enormous impact on strategies employed by graduate students to finance their education. Further, racial disparities are especially reflected in access to teaching and research assistantships as well as reliance on National Direct Loans and other loan programs.

Table 1

Enrollment in U.S. Graduate Schools by Race and Ethnicity for Selected Years, 1976, 1980, 1984

		Years		Percent Change
Categories	1976	1980	1984	1976 - 1984
Total Enrollment	1,079,307	1,097,567	1,063,995	-1.4
White	905,371 (83.9%)	899,245 (81.9%)	856,061 (80.5%)	-5.4
Total Minority	107,898 (10.0%)	112,172 (10.2%)	104,680 (9.8%)	-3.0
Asian/Pacific Islanders	18,446 (1.7%)	23,534 (2.1%)	27,318 (2.6%)	-48.1
Black	65,338 (6.1%)	59,976 (5.5%)	50,717 (4.8%)	-22.4
Hispanic	20,234 (1.9%)	24,278 (2.2%)	23,144 (2.2%)	+14.4
Native American Indian & Alaskans	3,880 (0.4%)	4,384 (0.4%)	3,501 (0.3%)	-9.8

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics; Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, "Change Trendlines, Minority Access: A Question of Equity," Change Magazine 19: 3 (May/June 1987), Tables 3,6; James E. Blackwell, Mainstreaming Outsiders: The Production of Black Professionals (2nd edition), Dix Hills, N.Y.: General Hall Publishing Company, 1987.

Of all the minority groups identified in Table 2, Asian American students control a greater advantage with respect to the critical areas of financial support: teaching assistantships, research assistantships, Federal/Fellow trainee, and lack of reliance on various loan programs. Blacks and Puerto Ricans consistently fare worse than all other groups in terms of access to teaching and research assistantships. However, they tend to have substantially greater access to educational institutional funds than do all other groups. As of 1985, almost half (49.7

percent) of all Puerto Rican students, more than a third of Mexican American, one-third of native American 27.8 percent of black, and 28.2 percent of all white graduate students used the National Direct Student Loan Program as one source of support for graduate education. Again, blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans were considerably more likely to rely on "other loans" to finance graduate education.

A number of factors help reduce the numbers of racial and ethnic minorities who actually pursue a doctoral degree: escalating costs of post-secondary education, coupled with discontinuities in federal support for graduate education, and the reluctance of many potential graduate students (who have family and personal financial obligations or responsibilities) to incur substantial debt to support doctoral studies and to delay other obligations. Again, although finance is a major explanatory factor for the declining enrollment of some minority group members, it is clearly not the sole factor.

Irrespective of the explanations offered for the declining enrollment of blacks and native Americans in graduate schools or for the increase in the numbers of Hispanics matriculated, the most important fact is that the nation has not fully opened its graduate school doors to these three groups. As a result, there is a critical shortage of blacks, Hispanics and native Americans for faculty positions. That shortage is a direct consequence of the underproduction of minorities with doctoral degrees.

Doctoral Degree Production. As displayed in Tables 3 and 4, a dramatic downturn occurred between 1980 and 1986 in the total number of doctorates earned by American citizens. Despite the drop from 26,394 doctoral degrees conferred on Americans in 1980 to 22,984 six years later, white Americans still claim 89.3 percent of all doctorates earned by Americans. The most conspicuous loss in the number of earned doctorates during that period was observed among black Americans. The percentage of American blacks who earned the doctoral degree fell from 4.1 percent in 1980 to 3.5 percent in 1986 -- an absolute loss of 275 blacks who earned the doctoral degree.

Table 2

Graduate School Support by Race, Ethnicity, and Years, 1981, 1985

(Figures denote percent using source)

urces of upport	Total U.S. Citizens		American Indian		Asian		Black		White		Puerto Rican		Mexican American	
	1981	1985	1981	1985	1981	1985	1981	1985	1981	1985	1981	1985	1981	1985
deral/Fellow Trainee	20.7	16.0	25.8	21.5	24.3	21.2	17.8	18.9	21.0	15.6	19.1	26.9	29.9	29.4
I. Bill	6.9	4.2	7.9	5.4	2.6	1.4	7.9	3.7	7.0	4.3	5.2	4.1	11.0	3.9
her llowship	20.4	3.8	15.7	7.5	19.1	4.5	22.3	8.3	20.4	3.4	37.4	7.6	27.9	15.6
aching ssistantships	45.6	46.6	31.5	35.5	42.0	47.4	25.7	26.1	47.4	48.1	27.8	39.3	36.4	48.1
search ssistantships	33.8	37.8	13.5	31.2	43.3	51.1	15.4	16.8	35.1	29.6	23.5	29.4	22.1	37.2
uc. Instit. Funds	10.7	29.5	5.6	21.5	14.1	29.5	11.7	32.0	10.7	5.6	21.7	12.4	15.6	4.4
wn/Spouse Earnings	69.1	81.8	77.5	81.7	53.7	71.8	73.3	82.0	70.4	82.9	57.4	73.6	71.4	82.8
amily Contributions	15.9		6.7		16.5		10.8		16.6		10.4		7.8	
t'l Direct Student Loan	12.8	28.1	14.6	33.3	10.9	24.7	17.6	27.8	12.8	28.2	27.8	49.7	14.9	34.4
her Loans	12.1	11.1	14.6	11.8	9.1	11.5	17.7	15.8	12.0	10.7	21.7	22.1	10.4	14.4
her	4.3	3.3	3.4	.0	3.5	2.3	5.3	3.4	4.3	3.3	7.8	5.5	4.5	2.8
known		1.6	.0	.0	1.7	1.2	1.6	1.7	1.0	.7	4.3	.0	1.3	1.1

Source: National Research Council; Summary Reports (1981,1985); Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities.

*In 1985 these items were combined in doctoral survey reports.

American Indians had a net loss of six doctorates but the percentage of American Indians with doctorates remains at a dismal 0.4 percent. Puerto Rican Americans experienced an increase of almost 100 percent in the total number of doctorates earned between 1980 and 1986. Inasmuch as the absolute increase was only from 69 in 1980 to 137 in 1986, it would be deceptive at best to argue that there was a statistical increase of 300 percent during that period (i.e., from 0.2 to 0.6 percent of the total number of doctorates conferred). The absolute number of doctorates earned by Mexican Americans also rose substantially;

that is, from 109 in 1980 to 182 in 1986. Inasmuch as the data on Asian Americans was not disaggregated in 1980, it is difficult to make comparisons of their gains or losses during the period under review. However, one can extrapolate from the data on their gains in graduate school enrollment to postulate that their 526 (2.2 percent) share of the total number of doctorates awarded in 1986 represents a significant increase over the number they received in 1980. It is apparent from these data that those minorities in the United States who comprise more than a fifth of the nation's total population constitute less than 50 percent parity in the total number of doctorates awarded American citizens each year. Their underrepresentation in the number of doctorates produced is a serious indictment on the American educational system as well as on the society as a whole for its failure to increase and maintain access, retention and production of all groups of Americans to graduate education. That underrepresentation reflects an indefensible retreat from the commitment articulated in Brown v. Board of Education, Adams v. Richardson, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to expand equality of educational opportunity to all Americans.

Underproduction of doctorates among minority groups generates problems onerous or especially troublesome in character. For instance, maldistribution of fields of specialization exacerbates an already disturbing pattern. While blacks, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and native Americans are not overrepresented in any field of specialization, certain concentrations of degree attainment are particularly striking (Tables 3 and 4). As recently as 1986, approximately half of all blacks were awarded a doctoral degree in education. By comparison, 43.2 percent of Mexican Americans, 32 percent of Puerto Ricans, slightly more than 24 percent of American Indians, less than 20 percent of the white population and about 10 percent of Asian Americans were awarded degrees in Education.

Among the minority groups, Asian American were more likely to concentrate their doctoral training in the physical sciences, life sciences, and engineering while blacks, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans were more likely to pursue degrees in education, the social sciences, and psychology. The absence of the latter groups was particularly noticeable in doctoral programs in such fields as mathematics, computer science, physics, chemistry, earth and environmental science, engineering, agricultural sciences, health and medical sciences, and languages and literature. That type of maldistribution inevitably leads to the "ghettoization" of minorities in higher education whenever they are hired beyond token numbers.

Table 3

Doctorates Awarded U.S. Citizens by Field, Race, Ethnicity, 1980

elds	Total U.S. Citizens	American Indian	Asians*	Black	White	Puerto Rican	Mexican American
l Fields	26,394	106 (0.4%)	1,097* (4.12%)	1,095 (4.1%)	22,326 (84.5%)	69 (0.2%)	109 (0.4%)
ys. Sciences	3,320	7	238	29	2,779	4	7
thematics	583	0	43	12	496	0	0
mputer Science	169	0	9	0	143	0	0
ysics	768	0	46	4	622	3	3
emistry	1,264	4	148	12	1,036	1	2
rth & Environ. cience	536	3	22	1	482	0	2
gineering	1,563	3	278	18	1,141	3	1
fe Sciences	4,507	11	227	68	3,908	3	7
o. Science	3,070	10	151	42	2,658	2	2
ri. Science	708	1	30	11	627	0	1
alth & Med. cience	729	0	46	15	623	1	4
cial Sciences Psychology	5,498	18	148	222	4,757	18	23
manities		9	68	103	3,064	12	15
nguages & iterature	1,405	3	21	33	1,231	6	7
ofessional ields	1,152	5	44	53	983	5	4
ucation	6,832	53	92	602	5,676	24	52
aching Fields	1,375	5	13	107	1,178	5	3
her, Unspecified	24	0	2	0	18	0	0

Sources: National Research Council (with the assistance of Peter Syverson) and James E. Blackwell, Mainstreaming Outsiders: The Produce of Black Professionals (2nd Ed.). Dix Hills: New York: General Hall Publishing Co., 1987).

* These numbers include Asian American citizens as well as Asians of foreign citizenship. Approximately half of this population is comprised of U.S. citizens. However, in the Physical Sciences and Engineering, U.S. citizens constitute the majority.

Table 4

Doctorates Awarded U.S. Citizens by Field, Race, Ethnicity, 1986

Fields	Total U.S. Citizens	American Indian	Asian	Black	White	Puerto Rican	Mexican American	Other Hispanic
All fields	22,984	100 (0.4%)	527 (2.2%)	820 (3.5%)	20,538 (89.3%)	137 (0.6%)	182 (0.7%)	248 (1.0%)
ysical Sciences	3,308	8	107	25	2,714	15	15	23
Mathematics	367	1	14	5	327	3	3	3
Computer Sciences	203	0	12	1	176	2	0	2
Physics	692	0	19	7	633	4	2	5
Chemistry	1,319	5	56	13	1,180	5	10	9
Earth & Env. Sciences	422	2	6	0	398	1	0	4
gineering	1,379	6	80	14	1,224	11	5	9
ife Sciences	4,342	24	152	64	3,958	20	14	38
Bio. Science	3,119	18	124	40	2,835	12	9	31
Agri. Science	657	0	14	7	616	4	2	2
Health & Med. Science	566	6	14	17	507	4	3	5
cial Sciences & Psych.	4,548	20	69	163	4,080	27	23	60
umanities	2,728	7	30	70	2,496	14	20	42
anguage & Literature	896	2	11	16	805	9	11	24
rofessional Fields	2,373	9	31	53	1,230	5	6	12
ucation	5,595	26	58	421	4,820	45	79	64
eaching Fields	934	2	6	58	835	8	3	9
ther, Unspecified	16	0	0	1	15	0	0	0

Source: National Research Council (with the assistance of Susan Coyle and Yupin Bae).

This abysmal situation observed in the under-representation of blacks, Mexican Americans, native Americans and Puerto Ricans need not continue. Indeed, some institutions are engaged in a number of strategies designed to expand the pool of minorities for graduate education and, ultimately for faculty positions in colleges and universities. The following types of interventions are recommended:

1. Institutional commitment. A commitment to the goal of increasing the number of minorities in graduate school is the first important step. Without a clearly stated policy and programmatic schemes designed to expand educational opportunities beyond tokenism, efforts at departmental levels are likely to encounter serious difficulties. However, even if the commitment to this goal is not total throughout the institution, special efforts at the departmental, college, or school level could be highly successful.

For example, the Department of Sociology at Washington State University (WSU) successfully expanded opportunities for black Americans to obtain the doctorate in sociology. In that case, a program was initiated in the 1950s by two white faculty members of southern origin who had established a positive relationship with several historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs). The faculty members persuaded their sociology colleagues in these institutions to inform blacks of opportunities available at WSU. Students selected for this program were required to meet traditional admissions requirements, were granted either teaching or research assistantships, tuition waivers, and a congenial institutional environment. Expectations for academic performance were identical to those required of students of other racial groups. Graduate courses were sufficiently small as to facilitate student-faculty interaction as well as the formation of a cohesive graduate student network. Faculty members were available for advice and consultation. Several professors held seminars in their homes and/or invited graduate students to their homes for dinners and special social events. Despite its geographic isolation in eastern Washington, the Department of Sociology produced a significant number of blacks with the Ph.D. degree.

By the 1970s, that department had graduated the highest number of Blacks per capita of any Department of Sociology in the United States. Among those doctorates are Charles U. Smith, Dean of the Graduate School at Florida A & M University; Anna Harvin Grant, Chair of the Department of Sociology at Morehouse College; Edgar Epps, Marshall Field Professor at the University of Chicago; William J. Wilson, Chair of the Department of Sociology at the University of

Chicago; and James E. Blackwell, (former Chair) Professor of Sociology at the University of Massachusetts/Boston.

A second example of institutional commitment may be found at The Ohio State University. Although this institution enjoyed a positive reputation for its training of minority graduate students prior to 1971, in that year, Frank Hale was employed as Associate Dean of the Graduate School. At that time, only 12 of the 200 minorities enrolled in the Graduate School had been awarded fellowships. Dr. Hale initiated a program to raise the number of fellowships awarded minority students and to use those fellowships as a means for attracting a larger cohort of minority students to graduate programs at The Ohio State University. Since that time, he has become Vice Provost for Minority Affairs and has developed a minority program that is used as a model by many institutions around the nation. Each year, Ohio State designates 100 fellowships (50 percent of its total) for minority students (Drum 1984). Of the 1,201 recipients of these fellowships since 1974, 1,008 have been awarded to blacks; 38 to Hispanics, 18 to Asians, 6 to American Indians, and 151 to "other groups." Each award is valued at an average of $11,000 per year for residents of the state and $15,000 for nonresidents. As a result of these efforts, conjoined with other forms of institutional support, The Ohio State University ranks among the top three institutions in terms of numbers of graduate degrees earned by students from minority groups (Drum 1984).

2. Early identification programs. These programs are a second intervention strategy, which may be utilized to increase the number of minorities in faculty positions. Although others might recommend initiation of school programs in the high school years, beginning such programs as early as the sophomore year in college should enable the attainment of the ultimate goal. These programs require faculty members to recognize special academic and leadership talents among minority students as early as the sophomore year in college, nurture that talent, and stimulate interest in graduate education and possible teaching careers. As will be stressed in a subsequent section, this program, like other faculty initiatives, will require sustained mentoring.

3. "Grow-Your-Own" programs. These programs are the products of some form of early identification program. However, this initiative may begin as late as the senior year in college when students are making important career decisions. The essential feature of these programs is that arrangements are made to identify baccalaureate graduates of one's own department and for them to matriculate in that

department's graduate degree program followed by subsequent employment in the same department upon completion of a terminal degree. These programs have been recommended as intervention strategies to be utilized by several of the 18 states covered by the Adams litigation.

4. Financial assistance with an agreement to remain in the state. This strategy is employed in several states for a specified period of time upon completion of the terminal degree. Two examples are illuminating in this regard. First, the McKnight Foundation operates a program, under the leadership of Dr. Ike Tribble, by which persons who wish to attend an institution in Florida in pursuit of the doctoral degree will receive an annual stipend of $15,000 per year for up to four years in order to complete the doctoral degree. The primary stipulation is that participants in this program must agree to accept an appointment at a Florida institution for a period of time commensurate with the time taken to receive the doctorate under the McKnight Fellowships. A similar program has been instituted by the State of New Jersey. Both are highly successful programs with respect to increasing the number of doctoral degree students and the potential number of minorities available for faculty positions in the states of Florida and New Jersey.

5. Sound, systematic financial aid programs. Such programs also are an essential strategy. This strategy encompasses the need to bolster institutional funds for the awarding of teaching and research assistantships to minorities far in excess of the proportions currently awarded these students (see Table 2). Institutions such as the University of Minnesota, the University of Michigan and Northwestern University (members of the CCC) have advertised fellowship programs designed to attract more minority students. The Ford Foundation Fellowship Program, operated by the National Academy of Science is an important initiative undertaken to facilitate doctoral degree attainment among minorities and to increase the numbers of minorities available for faculty positions, or as researchers, or for employment in the private sector.

6. Post-doctoral fellowships. These fellowships may be an additional instrument utilized for the identification of potential faculty members (see item 7).

7. Aggressive recruitment strategies. The strategies are imperative for fostering the matriculation of minority students into graduate programs. Although a broad range of such strategies have been identified (Blackwell 1987), a few suggestions are appropriate at this point.

Recruitment of minority students is most effective when the receiving department, through its representatives, is able to create a sense of unrestrained commitment to facilitating equal educational opportunity within a positive learning environment. Potential graduate students must be convinced that departments are willing to assist them in the attainment of their educational goals and that they will be treated fairly and with respect. No minority student desires to be perceived as "a representative of his/her race" nor as a member of some homogenized monolithic mass.

Recruitment strategies are especially diverse in form and varied in their potential for success. Several highly successful programs involve the utilization of alumni and/or students from minority groups who can develop a sense of trust and confidence among the potential enrollees and who exemplify available possibilities. Also, the programs often result from connections and inter-university arrangements with HBCUs and other institutions that have a good track record of graduating members of minority groups. The programs utilize faculty members from minority groups as evidence that the institution or department is serious about the process of expanding educational opportunities. Campus visits, discussions with other alumni and special summer workshops also may be employed as components of an effective recruitment strategy.

Recruitment, Employment and Retention of Minorities in Faculty Positions

The underrepresentation of minorities in faculty positions in our nation's colleges and universities is extremely serious. Alarming trends, all indicating major declines in the hiring and retention of minorities, have been observed in recent years (Arce and Manning 1984; Bayer 1973; Blackwell 1984; Harvey 1985; Jackson 1986; Matthews 1987). As early as 1973, Bayer (1973) for instance, stated that blacks comprised 2.9 percent of the total number of faculty positions in colleges and universities. Asians accounted for 2.1 percent and other minorities constituted 2.8 percent of total faculty positions.

Blackwell (1984) and Harvey (1985) claimed that blacks comprised about 4 percent of total faculty but this percentage represented a decrease from an estimated high level of approximately 6 percent in the late 1970s -- before the severity of the effects of the "revolving door" of junior faculty had been realized. A major problem with the 4 percent figure is that it includes all black faculty employed at the HBCUs. When that number is disaggregated from the total number of blacks holding faculty positions in postsecondary education, it is estimated that blacks account for approximately one percent of the faculty in predominantly white colleges and universities.

An examination of Table 5 shows that, while Asians were the only minority group to register significant gains in faculty positions between 1975 and 1983, blacks were the only minority to experience both a decline in absolute numbers and a percentage loss of the total number of faculty positions in the United States. During that period, an additional 57 American Indians received faculty positions. The number of Hispanics in college teaching positions rose by 1,233 whereas the number of Asians rose from 9,763 to 16,899 (a gain of 7,126). The number of white persons fell from 409,947 in 1975 to 440,505 in 1983 (a net loss of 9,442). Nevertheless, white persons continue to claim nine of every ten faculty positions in American colleges and universities while minorities represent slightly less than 10 percent of the total.

Minorities are substantially more likely to hold nonfaculty positions in institutions of higher learning. As a group, they constitute 22.2 percent of all nonfaculty positions whereas whites represent 77.8 percent of that total number. Nonfaculty personnel range from service positions (such as janitorial, custodial and maintenance services, and dining room assistants), to clerical positions, to higher graded administrative positions. Dr. Reginald Wilson, Director of the Office of Minority Concerns reported to this writer that the last available data on minorities in administrative positions in colleges and universities was in 1983. According to that data set, blacks held 7.2 percent of the administrative positions; Hispanics, 1.6 percent; Asians 1.1 percent and whites 89.7 percent. These data are not disaggregated by institutional affiliation. If so, the data would reveal that more than half of the black administrators are employed at HBCUs and that specific institutions, such as New Mexico Highlands, account for a disproportionate number of administrators from the Hispanic population. Again, there is a major problem of maldistribution.

Affirmative Action. During the 1960s and early 1970s, there seemed to have been a genuine effort by several postsecondary institutions to recruit and employ minorities for faculty and nonfaculty positions. Those efforts were stimulated by the tumultuous events of the 1960s, demands from students, the commitment of some white faculty to institutionalize diversity in their departments, and the intervention of affirmative action in higher education in 1972.

Table 5

Employment Rates in Higher Education by Race, Percentage, and Years, 1975 & 1983

	Years					
	1975			1983		
Category Perc	All Positions	Faculty	Non-Faculty	All Positions	Faculty	Non-Faculty
Total	1,388,406	446,830	941,576	1,588,151	485,739	1,102,412
White	1,155,794 83.2%	409,947 91.7%	745,847 79.2%	1,297,929 81.7%	440,505 90.7%	857,488 77.8%
Black	157,990 12.1%	19,746 4.4%	148,244 15.7%	193,047 12.2%	19,571 4.0%	173,376 15.7%
Hispanic	35,252 2.5%	6,323 1.4%	28,929 3.1%	48,926 3.1%	7,456 1.5%	47,470 3.8%
Asian	24,709 1.8%	9,763 2.2%	14,946 1.6%	41,550 2.6%	16,899 3.5%	24,651 2.2%
American Indian	4,661 0.3%	1,051 0.2%	3,610 0.4%	6,735 0.4%	1,308 0.3%	5,427 0.5%

Source: Adapted from tables made available by Dr. Reginald Wilson, American Council on Education and the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Inasmuch as affirmative action is a sociopolitical construction, it is not particularly surprising that events around its implementation and practices spawned an entire body of literature on affirmative action during that period. For instance, several researchers focused on general discussions and operations of affirmative action in higher education (Banks 1984; Exxum 1983; Exxum et al. 1983; Lewis 1975; Matthews 1987; Menges and Exxum 1983; Reed 1983, 1987). Some researchers focused on benefits of affirmative action (Leinwood-Jones 1983; Penn et al.

1986). Others emphasize affirmative action needs and policies with respect to the recruitment of minorities for faculty positions (Reed 1987; Sandler 1974). The attitudes of whites toward affirmative action have been the subject of a number of empirical investigations (Burstein 1979; Klugel and Smith 1983; Lipset and Schneider 1978; Ponterotto et al. 1986; Taylor, Sheatsley, and Greeley 1979). Finally, the criteria for affirmative action programs have also been the subject of a number of empirical studies (Exxum et al. 1984; Hitt and Keats 1984).

The most fundamental objective of affirmative action is to end discrimination in recruitment, hiring, and retention and to "remedy the effects of past discrimination through the implementation of a variety of positive steps." One of the steps involves expanding the pool of eligible individuals so as to include representatives of all groups, especially those who have been victimized by past discrimination. Affirmative action programs are most effective when there is a clear and unequivocal institutional commitment to its basic principles (Exxum et al. 1983; Exxum and Menges 1983; Hitt and Keats 1984; Reed 1983). That commitment begins with higher administration and pervades the entire institutional structure.

Hitt and Keats (1984) demonstrated that attitudinal and procedural factors were central to the implementation of an effective affirmative action program. These factors encompassed "commitment from higher administration, receptive attitudes from key personnel, and formal and informal grievance procedures" (p. 203). Other important factors that contribute to effectiveness of affirmative action programs identified by these researchers include "credibility of the affirmative action officers, development and implementation of creative approaches to affirmative action, social and academic support systems, current and accurate information regarding available occupational minority candidates by discipline, and regular review of affirmative action programs and goals" (Hitt and Keats 1983, 203).

White persons hold 90.7 percent of all faculty positions and 89.7 percent of all administrative positions in American colleges and universities. Therefore, the attitudes and perspectives of whites on affirmative action and its viability as a tool for helping minorities move into the mainstream have enormous salience. These attitudes and perspectives are highly complex and lacking in uniformity. Persons who expound endogenous and exogenous explanations of discrimination in the marketplace (Blackwell 1982; Becker 1971; Reich 1980; Swinton 1977) argue that people are primarily motivated by economic self-interests. Hence, the responses to programs such as affirmative action will be dictated in a large measure by perceptions, real or imagined, of the threats to a person's sense of economic entitlements imposed by the implementation of such programs. However, the sense of economic entitlements is not unrelated to one's position in a racially stratified system.

Actions of those persons who believe that their membership in a racially dominant group, ipso facto, entitles them to the best rewards, irrespective of their own qualifications or that membership by definition or social custom gives them prior claims to these jobs to the exclusion of equally or better qualified persons from minority groups, are greatly influenced by that belief system. It also is argued that symbolic racism (McConahay and Hough 1976) may be involved in this attitudinal construct. Symbolic racism, often associated with political conservatism and traditional racial prejudice (Klugel and Smith 1983), embraces the notion that minorities, by demanding transformations in the racial status quo, are not only making illegitimate demands but are "violating cherished values" (Klugel and Smith 1983, 800).

Attitudes of whites toward affirmative action often appear to be so contradictory that many minorities claim that their obfuscation is a conscious effort to mask real opposition to these programs. Yet poll data continues to show that a significant majority of white Americans registered support for programs aimed at simply assisting minorities gain jobs or access to higher education. However, a significant majority of the white public also opposed programs defined as "preferential treatment for members of minority groups" (Klugel and Smith 1983; Ponterotto 1986). If one accepts the symbolic racism thesis that minorities are attempting to violate "cherished values" of meritocracy and white privilege in a racially stratified society, and if minorities pose a threat to the economic rewards generally received by whites, then, it is understandable how these attitudes influence affirmative action policies at the departmental and in some administrative levels in higher education controlled by whites.

Clarity also may be expanded if one accepts the following notion. Many persons who oppose affirmative action are not racially biased but firmly believe that the opportunity structure, which has served them well in the past, will also, in time, serve racial and ethnic minorities if they meet the traditional criteria for job acquisition and upward mobility. The central point here is that opposition to affirmative action in higher education is highly complex and white attitudes regarding it are, indeed, a "mixed bag." It is also important to note Klugel and Smith's admonition that verbal support for affirmative action does not necessarily transform itself into behavioral support in promoting affirmative action policies (Klugel and Smith 1983, 778).

Hence, circumvention techniques or strategies for the subversion of affirmative action in faculty hiring have developed. These include:

- The absence of clearly defined job descriptions in advertisements (Exxum et al. 1983).
- Advertising in specialties that are not traditional for minorities. Ambiguities in job descriptions often permit shifts in specializations whenever minorities appear in the pool of candidates.
- Advertising for temporary, nontenure-track positions to which minorities seeking tenure-track lines are far less likely to apply.
- Transmission of negative signals during the interview process by individuals hostile to affirmative action efforts.
- Absence of minorities from search committees who can review the curriculum vitae of all applicants.
- Absence of tenured minority faculty from search committees who are not afraid to make arguments without fear of reprisals.
- Inadequate searches resulting in claims that "we can't find any."
- Continued utilization of "white male networks" detrimental to the hiring of others.

Despite subversion of affirmative action programs, or of persistent insensitivity to the need for them, or ignorance about effective recruitment strategies, some efforts have been successful in recruiting minorities for faculty positions. For example, the University of Massachusetts/Boston ranks first among all New England colleges and universities in the percentage of minorities on its faculty. Approximately 13.4 percent of all of its faculty positions are held by minorities. That success is attributed to the unqualified priority assigned to affirmative action by Chancellor Robert Corrigan, the authority of the affirmative action officer and the monitoring roles performed over the past 17 years by the Association of Black Faculty and Staff of the University of Massachusetts/Boston.

Effective strategies include institutional commitment to the utilization of affirmative action as an instrument for increasing diversity needed by the institution as a whole. From this commitment must emerge clearly defined policies accompanied by rewards for compliance and sanctions for noncompliance. It also means hiring affirmative action officers who have clout and who are willing to use that clout as they monitor the recruitment and hiring process. In addition, the following suggestions are offered:

- Aggressive recruitment involving the acquisition of lists of potential candidates for jobs from institutions known to produce significant numbers of doctoral graduates among minority group members.

- Utilization of the "grow-your-own" program mentioned in an earlier section.

- Utilization of postdoctoral fellowships as an enticement to minorities for permanent faculty positions.

- Institution of All-But-the-Dissertation (ABD) slots to attract minorities with a follow-up program of faculty development that permits the completion of the doctoral degree (Williams College is among the institutions that have instituted such programs. This has been a standard practice at several HBCUs for many years).

- Advertising in media outlets likely to be used, seen, or read by minorities.

- Being willing to overcome departmental jealousies that impede market prices for minority faculty (a scarce commodity).

- Willingness to offer housing subsidies in areas of high housing market prices.

- Making provisions for travel arrangements to professional meetings.

- Provisions for research opportunities.

- Provisions for course loads that enable that person to meet tenure expectations.

- Provisions for senior faculty members to mentor junior faculty members.

- Clarifying tenure/retention requirements during the interview process so that the individual will have an unambiguous understanding of expectations.

- Use of joint appointments with other departments and/or with nearby institutions.

-- Use of Visiting Professorships and endowed chairs to recruit senior faculty from minority groups.

-- Communicating "genuineness" of commitment to collegiality unencumbered by racial or ethnic considerations.

Retention of Minorities. For many junior faculty, especially among minorities, a "revolving door" syndrome has developed since predominantly white institutions began to hire them in significant numbers. In this syndrome, individuals are hired, kept on the faculty for five or six years, evaluated negatively for tenure, and are required to move on to another institution. Sometimes the process is repeated resulting in the ultimate loss of outstanding talent from college and university teaching.

This situation may be explained by ambiguous tenure policies and practices that exist in many institutions as well as the extraordinary time demands made upon minority faculty members. As discerned from the employment data, most institutions, except the historically black institutions and the few institutions that have become predominantly native American and predominantly Hispanic, only hire minorities in token numbers. As a result of their presence, competing demands of such magnitude are made on them that it is virtually impossible, to meet the traditional tenure requirements of research, scholarly output, teaching, and service. As Banks (1984) observed, minority faculty members often are drawn into "activities unrelated to their competencies or interests." Yet, as Pruitt (1987) stated, the numbers of minorities in faculty positions are so minuscule that it is imperative to respond to the needs of minority students who often feel alienated in predominantly white institutions.

A dilemma is posed for minority faculty members. On the one hand, work hard to meet the traditional requirements for tenure. On the other hand, respond directly to student demands as well as to departmental and institutional expectations of the minority faculty to not only work with minority students but be the "minority representative" on every committee. These persons who choose the latter course are convinced they were led to believe that that was the appropriate function, which would compensate for less scholarly output at the time of tenure consideration. They are disillusioned when the same persons in their departments who encouraged them to "assume responsibility for all things minority" use that service performance negatively and penalize them for "inadequate scholarly productivity" during tenure considerations.

Even those who opt to avoid responses to such demands often find the tenure process painfully disheartening and unrewarding.

Many minorities have reported that white faculty pay little attention to the actual quality of their research and writing but focus on "where they published." If they have not published in those journals or with publishing houses that white professors have defined as "prestigious organs" neither the quality nor the quantity of their publications will be counted or demerits will be assigned on quantifiable scales employed in evaluations of publications. In addition, claims may be made that research of minority faculty is not "relevant" for the field or that it does not represent a significant "breakthrough" in the discipline. Therefore, it is not meritorious. Those demerits can prevent the acquisition of tenure and reduce the number of minorities available to assist in the baccalaureate degree attainment of minority students.

There is still a third alternative. It is more demanding and taxing. It requires exceptional discipline and planning. That alternative combines meeting the traditional requirements for tenure through outstanding performance as a scholar and teacher as well as being available to assist students as needed. Many scholars who are employed in major research universities have risen to that challenge. For those who opt for this choice, there should be a clear understanding that exceptionally hard work and a strong commitment to scholarly pursuits and to assisting minority students will demand unparalleled self-discipline. Inescapably, whenever a minority person is hired in a faculty position, that person is a role model and is expected to be an advisor, a counselor, an advocate, and a sympathetic listener for minority students. Even so, the dilemmas posed by competing demands and that sense of responsibility to minority students place a heavy burden on some minority faculty.

As evidenced in Banks' research (1984), some minority scholars did not display any compassion for minority students. Neither did they express the belief that devoting special attention to minority students was a central responsibility for them. Some took the position that their only duty was to be the best scholar they could be and that they should do more for minority students than they would for any other student. In that category, it appeared that such persons were among that group of professors who, at best, could be characterized as indifferent to student concerns. Most persons in his study, however, did not fall into that category.

It is time for universities and colleges to reevaluate existing tenure policies. While research is essential and must be done, the primary function of colleges and universities is to impart knowledge to students. The most effective method of accomplishing that task is through quality teaching. Therefore, restructuring tenure policies would permit elevation of the weight assigned to teaching at minimum to the same weight awarded to research competence. In addition, if institutions are committed to participatory democracy and to the value of faculty involvement in governance, that too must be rewarded. Finally, so long as minority faculty members are expected to respond to the needs of minority students over and above regular duties, that work also should be factored into the scale of values used to determine merit for tenure.

Faculty Roles in Baccalaureate Degree Attainment Among Minority Students

Once minorities have been employed in faculty positions, what roles can they perform that will facilitate the acquisition of baccalaureate degrees among minority students? What strategies can they develop or execute that will spark a greater interest among minority students in graduate education, ultimately, in college or university teaching as a profession? In this writer's view, faculty members can and do play major roles in academic outcomes as well as in determinations of career aspirations of students following baccalaureate degree attainment.

First and foremost, professors can demonstrate competence in their subject matter. Excellent teaching is characterized by extraordinary competence, knowledge of the subject matter, the ability to convey ideas in an interesting manner, the ability to stimulate interest in the subject matter, being prepared for every classroom activity, and the ability to engage students in civilized discussions about ideas. Excellent teaching requires professors to communicate to students a profound interest in them as individuals and the capacity to listen to what students have to say. It manifests itself in caring and students quickly identify with faculty members, irrespective of race, who communicate that sense of caring to them.

Excellent teaching demands the articulation of high standards of performance from students and, simultaneously, a commitment by the professors to assist students to do their best to measure up to those standards. It is not patronizing students. It is not "talking down to them." It does mean recognizing the demonstrated achievement levels of students and making those necessary adjustments which facilitate comprehension and utilization of the subject matter. It is that commitment to excellence, sense of caring, and fairness in evaluations of students that will promote self-confidence and determination to succeed and foster role modeling and mentoring. In these processes, minority students, who may not have understood the real value of a baccalaureate degree may develop an even more profound appreciation for higher levels of professional training (Garibaldi 1984, 1986).

Perhaps, more specificity of meaning will illuminate the position expressed here. It is essential for professors to understand not only the norms of language but cultural variations in the meanings attached to language styles and usage. Mainstreaming minorities who may be either outside or marginal to the mainstream by virtue of their minority group status, or that status coupled with class identification, may necessitate special attention to this issue. To elaborate, this issue means avoidance of stigmatization, stereotyping, and personally injurious labels. It also means the utilization of a classroom management style that facilitates rather than impedes involvement in the learning process. In addition, professors demonstrate an appreciation for diverse cultural styles, multiculturalism, and diversity by using those features to stimulate interest in learning.

One of the most negative experiences reported by many minority students matriculated at predominantly white institutions is that of encounters with uncaring, indifferent, insensitive, or racist professors and "elitists" of any race. Those attributes are manifested in a variety of ways ranging from racist remarks to students (e.g. "Why don't you go to some other college where you belong?" "You don't belong at this institution.") to the use of pejorative and racially insensitive examples in classroom situations (e.g., when speaking about "welfare queens," look to minority students for an explanation) to failures to keep appointments with minority students. Encounters with professors of this type often propel some students to an early departure before the attainment of a baccalaureate degree.

Mentoring. One of the most important interventions that minority faculty can utilize is that of mentoring. Again, a plethora of studies on mentoring has developed since Daniel Levinson's 1978 volume, Seasons of a Man's Life, in which he described the mentoring process. Since that time, considerable attention has been given to diverse ways of defining the mentoring process (Blackwell 1983; Busch 1985; Levinson 1978; Stein 1981). Burton (1977) focused attention on mentoring as a developmental process. Several writers have described mentoring functions (Kaufman 1978; Shapiro et al. 1978; Prehm and Issacson 1985; Schein 1978). Mentoring means using one's own experiences and expertise to help guide the development of others. It is a close, interpersonal relationship that has benefits to the mentor as well as to the protege. The process demands that the mentor be available to the protege and that he or she takes time and direct interest in helping the protege achieve aspirations and goals. Effective mentoring means that the mentor offers encouragement as well as constructive criticism and that the relationship between mentor and protege is sufficiently strong so that criticism can be taken without damage to that relationship.

Effective mentoring requires the mentor to spend time with students outside the classroom situation. It can be achieved through involvement of the student in the research and scholarly endeavors of the mentor. This involvement exceeds mere apprenticeship features since the student is not only learning more about scientific methodology and procedures but also how to think critically, how to use knowledge, and how to appreciate the value of scholarly endeavors. This process creates a stronger sense of involvement within the university and stimulates understanding of the range of exciting dimensions of faculty life.

The teaching component of effective mentoring also encompasses helping the student sharpen writing skills and become sensitized to the positive aspects of strong self-discipline and high personal standards and expectations. Spending the time to read, critically assess or evaluate, not being reluctant to offer praise while simultaneously encouraging even more outstanding performance also are essential in this regard.

Intrusive Advising. This is another strategy for baccalaureate degree attainment in which faculty may play a prominent role. Advising has been the subject, too, of huge body of research in recent years (Ascher 1984; Avakian 1982; Bennett and Okinaka 1984; Bynum and Thompson 1983; Glennen et al. 1985; Guloyan 1986; Lewis 1987; Mallinckrodt and Sedlacek 1987; McKenna and Lewis 1986; Perry 1981; Richardson and Gerlach 1980; Rugg 1982; Suen 1983; Varheley and Applewhite 1985; White and Brown 1980). However, it is Glennen and associates' notions of intrusive advising that seem particularly appropriate for concerns here. They state:

> To be intrusive in advising means to be duly concerned about the academic affairs of one's students. The intrusive advisement system takes an aggressive approach in requiring the students to come in for advising at frequent intervals. It does not wait for students to get into academic difficulty, but continually checks on their progress and provides academic support in the form of developmental course work and/or tutoring assistance in areas identified by the advisor as needing course work according to the students needs, abilities and degree plan (Glennen et al. 1985, 335).

Faculty members are selected for participation in the intrusive advising program. They are given an intensive training program and released time that permits their involvement. Students are required to visit a centralized counseling center for a specified number of times and encouraged to visit beyond the required visit when in need of assistance. Students are made aware of the support services available so that they can utilize them before major problems arise. Special attention is given to interpretations of learning styles, the importance of regular class attendance, problems of low grades, and the advantages of enrollment in advanced courses. A network system involving faculty, advisors, administrators and support staff is established. Through this network, information about students may be shared and an alert system, identifying students in potential trouble, is implemented.

As Casas and Ponterotto (1984) and Maldonado and Cross (1977) point out, this advising system raises the level of campus consciousness about minority problems wherever they exist, the need for minorities to maintain pride in their own culture, and creates greater cultural awareness among nonminorities on the campus. Intrusive advising is not a new phenomenon. It has been used at HBCUs for several years. In fact, this system of faculty involvement in student life, the nurturing of and caring for students and their lives may help to explain the fact that while HBCUs enroll about one-fifth of the black students enrolled in colleges and universities, these institutions annually graduate about half of all black baccalaureate degree recipients.

Faculty representatives at predominantly white institutions could visit HBCUs and observe some of their programs which have a particularly high graduation rate. Much can be learned by observing and systematic studying of such programs as the Business and Management Program offered at Florida A & M University and the pre-medical education and pharmacy programs conducted at Xavier University of New Orleans. Finally, faculty members can participate at all levels of the governance structure that have some bearing on the institutional life of minority students. It is that governance structure, which establishes parameters of performance, rules, expectations, normative patterns, and procedures. Wise faculty members understand these activities and learn how academic systems work either to the advantage or disadvantage of students.

Ultimately, responsibility for facilitating baccalaureate degree attainment among minority students does not rest on the shoulders of minority faculty. It is a total institutional responsibility. However, it is foolhearted to assume that the greater share of that task will not be borne by minorities in faculty positions if and wherever they are employed in colleges and universities. A prior responsibility is to identify, train, graduate, and hire minorities in far greater numbers than colleges and universities are doing today if they are serious about meeting present and future needs.

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ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITMENTS AND MINORITY ENROLLMENTS: COLLEGE PRESIDENT'S GOALS FOR QUALITY AND ACCESS

Robert Birnbaum

The decade of the 1970s was a remarkable one for educational access. Enrollments of minority students in colleges and universities doubled (Blake 1987). Although dropout rates were still unacceptably high, progress towards eliminating disparities in the collegiate representation of minority and ethnic groups was manifest. Questions of access, equity, and educational justice were high on the educational policy agenda.

By the middle of the decade of the 80s, however, there was a new public policy agenda in higher education. Interest in Educational Opportunity Programs was superceded by initiatives identified with names such as Outcomes Assessment, Centers of Excellence, and Honors Programs. The higher education community was put "on notice of pressures to raise admissions standards, to cut support services, and to require higher performance levels for degrees" (Bornholdt 1987, 7).

This renewed concern for "quality" was contemporaneous with a reduction of minority enrollments and waning public interest in the question of access. The purposes of this paper are to assess how a sample of college and university presidents balance the two goals of quality and access, and to discuss the implications of this balance for American higher education. The paper is in four parts. The first part is an examination of the tensions between quality and access as they are reflected in public policy and fiscal arenas. The second part is a report on the goals of college and university presidents found in an ongoing study of leaders at 32 institutions. Contained in it are analyses of what presidents say about their goals for access and quality, and comparisons of their stated goals to changes in minority enrollment patterns at their institutions. The third part is a review of the findings and a discussion of the difficulties in interpreting the data. The fourth and final section is a proposal that there are cycles of interaction between quality and access at both system and campus levels. Although administrators may play a facilitative role, the major forces that influence access are likely to come from outside rather than inside the campus.

The Tensions Between Quality and Access

The concepts of quality and access do not have standard definitions. As a result, they often have come to be used as "code" words by advocates with differing educational and public policy agendas, making dialogue strained or impossible. Protagonists may talk past each other about whether it is or is not possible to have both quality and access without understanding the different meanings they impute to these words.

It is possible to define quality in terms that emphasize the functions of institutions to develop human talent and to provide some "value added" to their students (Astin 1983; Astin 1985). Alternatively, quality can be thought of as the degree to which an institution has appropriate objectives, and uses its resources effectively to achieve them (Educational Quality 1986). Both of these definitions are educationally sound and responsive to the diversity of purposes and forms in American higher education, and they are not inconsistent with principles of access. But they are not the definitions generally understood or accepted either by the academic community, or by the publics that support higher education.

Both lay and professional audiences tend to define quality in terms of institutional reputations, the quantity and level of institutional resources, or measurable student achievement (Astin 1985). Quality is thought of in terms of levels of input (raising SAT scores or the percentage of faculty with doctoral degrees), or levels of output (the number of students admitted to Phi Beta Kappa or performance on "rising junior" examinations). Yet, the acceptance of these traditional definitions places access and quality in conflict. That does not mean that programs to increase access cannot have sound teaching and learning, or that graduates of such programs cannot enter and successfully complete advanced professional and academic study (Rouche and Baker 1987). But access involves the admission of students whose academic performance may have been compromised by inadequate preparation, resources, or support. Because performance of previously disadvantaged students on traditional measures of academic achievement is unlikely on average to equal that of students who were initially better prepared, increasing access will, by traditional definitions, decrease "quality."

Astin (1985, 100) summed up the dilemma caused by these traditional definitions of quality when he said there is something inherently contradictory about a higher education system where quality and opportunity are in conflict rather than in harmony. If only a few institutions can be regarded as excellent (the reputational view), then most students will be forced to attend "mediocre" institutions. And if excellence depends mainly upon resources, then the expansion of opportunities requires that finite resources be distributed more thinly, thereby diluting the overall quality of the system.

The perceived conflict between quality (as traditionally defined) and access is not unique to America. A recent report on the status of higher education in other countries begins by stating that "evidence is accumulating around the world that greatly increased access to higher education over the past two decades has come at a tremendous price: a severe and pervasive decline in academic quality" (Jacobson 1987, A100).

Access, too, has many potential meanings. It can refer to the college-going rate of the age cohort, to the availability of opportunities for nontraditional students (for example, adults), to the enrollment of students from ethnic and racial minorities, or to equity in the employment in faculty and professional staff positions of persons from groups presently underrepresented. One common view of access uses the percentage of minority students enrolled as an index with which to measure progress.

For the purposes of this paper, quality will be referred to in the terms that would probably be accepted by most academics; that is, greater rigor in the application of traditional academic standards. Access will be defined in several ways when analyzing administrative goals, and will be equated to the percentage of minority students when considering enrollment data.

The Politics of Quality and Access

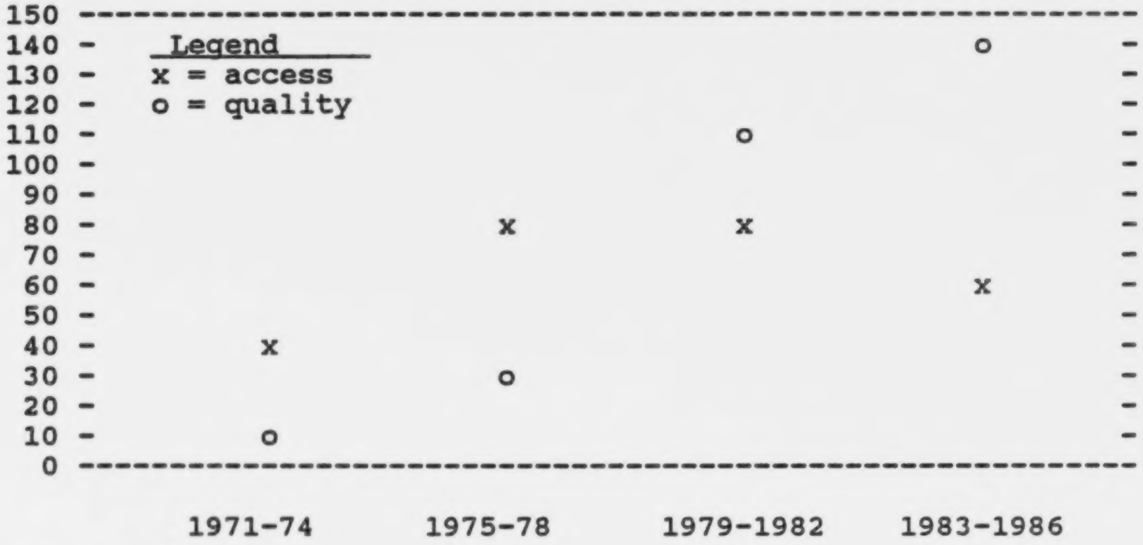
While the conflict between access and quality may to some be an arbitrary one of definition, the practical consequences are real. Resources of all kinds are always limited, and time, attention, political support, and money devoted to one item on an agenda -- whether the agenda of public policy or that of an academic institution -- are not available for another. Practitioners whose experiences span the period between the early 1970s and the mid-1980s can attest to the change that has taken place during that time. A preoccupation with access during the earlier period has been replaced today by a consuming interest in quality, and it has not appeared possible to attend to both. In considering the conflict between access and quality, Rivlin has asked why it appears that "grown-ups with human brains can't indeed start trying to keep more than one goal in mind at the same time"? (Achieving Access 1987, 8). But what appears reasonable in theory has proven to be exceptionally difficult in practice. As Rivlin has pointed out, during both time periods equal opportunity and enhanced quality were both concerns. But in both cases, concern for one meant comparative neglect of the other.

This change of interest from access to quality over the past 15 years can be seen in many ways, both direct and indirect. As examples, they are reflected in the recent spate of critical reports and normative proposals (Integrity in the College Curriculum, 1985; To Reclaim a Legacy, 1984; Involvement in Learning, 1984) that have been concerned primarily, albeit not exclusively, with qualitative matters . They are shown as well in the changing orientations of agencies providing institutional program and development support. Consider, for example, proposals solicited by The Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE). In 1975, FIPSE identified "Implementing Equal Educational Opportunity" as one of the five major thrusts of its comprehensive program (Program Information, n.d.), and indicated that "rather than accommodate the new learners to institutions, the Fund seeks to adapt institutions to the interests, circumstances, needs, and abilities of the new learners" (p. 11). One of its three special-focus programs of that year solicited proposals dealing with "Alternatives to the Revolving Door: Effective Learning for Low-Achieving Students." For the 1987 competition, in contrast, FIPSE identified eight major interests (Comprehensive Program, n.d.). Only one of these ("Making Access Meaningful") appeared focused on educational opportunity, and it clearly stipulated its emphasis upon "improving retention and completion rates without compromising program quality" (p. 4). Both the tone and the language of these documents changed considerably between these two time periods. An analysis of the 1975 document found 1 phrase related to quality, and 15 related to access; by 1987, there were 5 references to quality, and 6 to access.

Shifts in public and educational policy interests also are reflected in the literature of the field. A search of the ERIC system of 18 key higher education journals for articles appearing between 1971 and 1986 found 545 citations almost equally divided between those under the descriptor "educational quality" (54 percent) and those with the descriptor "educational access/equity" (46 percent). But the balance between citations with these two descriptors changed dramatically over time, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Number of Citations in 18 Key Journals
Using the Descriptors
"Educational Quality" and "Educational Access/Equity", 1971-86



The literature related to access and equity increased during the mid-70s, stabilized during the early 80s, and has since declined. Citations to quality remained at a low level until the end of the 70s, and then began a rapid acceleration which continued into the middle of the decade. The number of articles that can be published, like the number of issues to which administrative attention can be given, is finite. What actually gets printed both reflects, and thereby also influences, what is considered to be of consequence.

The Economics of Quality and Access

Importance can be assessed in part by what people read, write, and talk about, but ultimately it is reflected in the "bottom line" of fiscal resource allocation. Budget decisions to fund one program are at the same time decisions not to fund another. Dollars spent on supportive services cannot be used to fund released time for research; increasing institutional support for need-based financial aid comes at the expense of faculty salary raises. Two recent research reports have shown the consequences of this conflicting relationship between access and quality in fiscal terms. One study examined the effects of tuition policy on access (defined in terms of the attendance of low-income students) and quality (defined in terms of SAT scores) at 30 state universities. The researchers found access and quality negatively correlated, and stated that "our results have the clear policy implication that state universities -- and, we speculate, most other postsecondary institutions as well -- face a trade-off between the goals of improving the quality of educational programs and providing greater access" (Seneca and Taussig 1987, 35).

A second study (Hansen and Stampen 1987) compared cost-per-student (a measure of quality) and tuition costs minus student aid (a measure of access) using national economic and enrollment data for the period 1947-1985. The researchers found that these variables were systematically and negatively correlated for this entire 38-year period: as student aid increased instructional costs per student declined, and in turn high levels of instructional support accompanied low student-aid levels. The researchers concluded that "long term gains from efforts to improve both quality and equity are unlikely" (p. 19) unless additional financial resources are made available to the postsecondary educational system. In fact, of course, quite the contrary appears to be happening as federal sources are reducing, rather than expanding, levels of student financial aid support.

College Administration, Quality, and Access

If quality and access (as traditionally defined) are in conflict and vie for attention and fiscal resources on the public policy agenda, it might be expected that college presidents, as well as other participants in institutional governance and management, would be faced with small versions of these same dilemmas. Data reported by a national sample of campus academic leaders indicated that 18 percent of all institutions increased black enrollment in 1987, while 13 percent decreased (comparable figures for Hispanic students were 14 and 9 percent). In contrast, 54 percent of institutions reported increases in enrollment of high-ability students, and only 1 percent reported decreases (El-Khawas 1987). A comparison of the net change of +5 percent in institutions increasing black student enrollment with the +53 percent in institutions increasing high-ability enrollment provides clear evidence of how the conflict is being resolved.

The quality and access trade-offs appear not only in enrollment but in administrative interests as well. There are many things happening on a campus, and a president cannot attend to all of them. A recent survey of college presidents (College Presidents 1985) reported that 53 percent believed that maintaining academic quality was a critical issue at their institution, while only 2 percent believed it was not urgent. In contrast, only 28 percent of the presidents described the recruitment of minority students (one aspect of access) as extremely important, while almost as many (24 percent) found it to be not urgent.

Whether one looks at national reports, professional and scholarly publications, institutional emphasis on student ability, or presidential perceptions of important issues, the outcomes are comparable. Recently, more attention has been given to quality than to access at all levels in the system.

The Goals of Institutional Leaders

The purpose of this section is to report on research conducted as part of an ongoing study of institutional leadership. The goals of college and university presidents that are related to quality and to access were assessed. Although it is common to talk about "organizational goals," the concept is exceptionally problematic (see, for example Simon 1964). The goals of leaders may be influential because they set constraints within which lower participants function. Nevertheless, the interests of people at upper organizational levels often are not fully shared at lower levels, and this may be particularly true in normative, professional organizations such as colleges and universities.

Previous studies of the goals of academic leaders (Gross and Grambsch 1974; Doucette, Richardson, and Fenske 1985) have tended to rely upon questionnaire responses to fixed lists of possible goals. While this approach has many strengths, it has weaknesses as well. The range of responses may be limited by the categories included on the list, responses may be more reflective of officially approved mission statements or socially accepted values than they are of the outcomes actually preferred by the respondent. Also, respondents are able to indicate support for large numbers of goals and ignore the potential conflicts between them. In contrast, the research reported in this paper relied upon responses to an open-ended interview question that attempted to elicit individual "goals" without providing external cues. The question asked was: In what ways do you hope the institution will be different five years from now than it is today?

This question was asked with two intuitively appealing (although not empirically grounded) assumptions in mind: (1) that responses to this question would reasonably reflect a president's goals (that is, what a president said would be a valid indication of future outcomes to which the president was committed); and (2) that to the extent presidents have flexibility in making choices, they are likely to allocate resources of time, energy, political support, and finances to programs consistent with their goals. For the purpose of this study, any desired future condition mentioned by a respondent was considered to be a goal.

There has been little research on the relationship between administrative goals and minority enrollment, and findings tend to be equivocal. One study of minority degree achievement (Richardson, Simmons, and de los Santos 1987) pointed out that "virtually all discussions of minority degree achievement stress the importance of administrative commitment." However, the study itself found that administrators at some institutions that were successful in graduating minority students could not specify particular strategies that they followed. The administrators said that minority students were treated just like everyone else. Another study that analyzed 14 externally supported programs designed to help minority students achieve their goals reported four characteristics as related to a successful outcome. One of these was identified as "institutional commitment -- the degree to which the institution's top administrators demonstrate interest and support for the project. Strong commitment produces a positive environment for all participants and communicates the project's value to other faculty and staff. A lack of commitment may signal to the wider campus community that the activity is not worthy of their support or involvement" (Helping Minority 1985, 9). However, the data upon which that judgment was based were not described. Although a positive relationship between administrative support and minority enrollments is plausible, there is not yet enough evidence available to justify treating the claim as more than a hypothesis.

The Sample

Data for this study were collected as part of the Institutional Leadership Project, a major research activity of the National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance. Intensive, semistructured interviews of trustees, administrators, faculty, and students in leadership roles on 32 college and university campuses across the country were conducted to determine how these leaders interacted and influenced each other and their institutions. The participating institutions, selected to achieve a wide range of structures, demographic characteristics, and geographical locations, included eight universities, eight state colleges, eight independent colleges, and eight community colleges. Three of the institutions were historically black, and one was predominantly Hispanic.

This paper is based primarily upon the responses of institutional presidents. To a lesser extent it also considers the responses of persons in three other roles; board chair, vice president for academic affairs, and faculty leader (either chair of the faculty senate or analogous body, or president of the faculty union).

Content analysis was used to classify interview responses, and seven categories of goals were developed. Two of these categories, which are utilized in this paper, were the maintenance and/or enhancement of quality, and the maintenance and/or enhancement of access and equity. Other categories, which shall not be discussed in this paper, included the maintenance and/or enhancement of the quantity of resources, concern for educational programs, support of special administrative or academic interests, improvement of specific organizational processes, and improvement of relations with external audiences (Birnbaum 1987). Of the seven categories, qualitative goals were the second most frequently cited (quantitative goals were the most common); access/equity goals were the least frequently cited.

Responses coded as being related to quality fell into four subgroups that included quality of students, quality of faculty, quality of program, and general or undefined quality. Responses coded as related to equity/access fell in three subgroups that emphasized the enrollment of minority or "diverse" students, the participation of adult or other nontraditional students, or the support of minority or other underrepresented faculty. There was no limit to the number of individual goals that could be expressed by any respondent.

Findings

The distribution of the responses of college presidents is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Responses of College Presidents Indicating Concern for Quality and/or Access/Equity Goals

Goal	# Presidents	% Presidents
Quality Only	15	46.9%
Access/Equity Only	3	9.4
Both Quality and Access/Equity	2	6.2
Neither	12	37.5
	32	100.0%

Of the 32 presidents, 17 (53.1 percent) indicated one or more qualitative goals either alone or combined with access goals. In contrast, only 5 (15.6 percent) volunteered one or more access goals, alone or in combination with quality goals, and of these only three were specifically focussed upon access for minority students. Two presidents indicated goals that included both access and quality. In terms of desired outcomes over a five- year period, the responses of the presidents in this sample appeared to be consistent with general public policy trends placing greater emphasis upon a desire to improve quality rather than upon increasing access.

A complete analysis of these responses by institutional type cannot be reported; all respondents were promised confidentiality, and the small numbers involved would make it impossible to provide complete breakdowns without permitting the identification of institutions. However, it can be stated that community college presidents were more likely than presidents of other institutional types to indicate access as a goal, and they were less likely than other presidents to identify quality as a goal.

Administrative Goals, Institutional Types, and Minority Enrollments

If the assumption that presidential goals would affect institutional performance was accurate, differences in minority enrollments might be expected between institutions in which presidents indicated access as a goal, and those in which they did not. This does not suggest that future plans affect past enrollments, but rather assumes that if presidential commitments to access remain stable over time, current access goals can be used as a proxy for previous attitudes as well. An alternative explanation for minority enrollment changes might be the mission of the institution, with differences in minority enrollments seen between institutional types generally understood as concerned with access and those usually thought of as emphasizing quality.

In order to consider the relationship of presidential goals to minority enrollments, undergraduate enrollments of American Indian, black, and Hispanic students were determined for the sample institutions for 1976 and 1984 using data collected by the Office of Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education. Enrollments of Asian students, usually included in analyses of minority enrollments, were excluded here because they represent a unique enrollment category that can confound summative analyses. The proportion of minority enrollments and the changes between those two periods were calculated separately for three categories of institutions; those whose presidents indicated access as a goal; those whose presidents indicated quality as a goal (and did not also indicate access); and those who indicated neither. The four predominantly minority institutions, and two predominantly white institutions for which ethnic data were not available, were not included in this analysis. The results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Changes in Percentage of Minority Enrollments
between 1976 and 1984, by Presidential Goals

Goals	N	1976 Enrollment	1984 Enrollment	Diff
Access	5	12.6%	11.4%	-1.2%
Quality but not Access	11	5.7	7.7	+2.0
Neither Quality Nor Access	10	9.4	9.4	0.0
Total	26	8.5%	9.1%	+0.6%

The data in Table 2 indicate that the average minority enrollment at the study institutions remained essentially stable during the eight-year period.[1] As expected, institutions in this study whose presidents indicated access as a goal had the highest proportion of minority enrollments during the period, and those expressing a quality but not an access goal had the lowest. However, contrary to expectations, those institutions whose presidents expressed access goals suffered a slight loss in the proportion of minority enrollments during the period, while minority enrollment in those institutions whose presidents indicated quality but not access goals increased somewhat. Minority enrollments decreased on 4 of the 5 campuses whose presidents expressed access goals, on 4 of the 10 campuses in which neither quality nor access goals were expressed, and on 3 of the 11 campuses with quality but not access goals.

Changes in minority enrollments were next considered on the basis of institutional program and purpose, using institutional type as a proxy for mission. It was expected that minority enrollments would increase most at public community colleges and state colleges, and increase least at universities. No assumptions were made about changes in independent colleges, the most diverse group in the sample. The results are shown in Table 3.

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[1] Minority enrollments on a national level were stable during this period as well, although at a higher level than those seen in this subsample. On a national basis, 1976 enrollment of American Indians, blacks, and Hispanics was 14.8 percent, and 1984 enrollment was 14.3 percent (Minority Access 1987).

The data in Table 3 indicate that minority enrollments were stable in three of the four institutional types. In state colleges, however, the representation of minority students increased from 8.6 to 12.4 percent. Examining the seven institutions with the greatest minority student increases (ranging from +12.8 to +2.4 percentage points) and the seven with the greatest decreases (ranging from -11.3 to -1.8 percentage points) indicated no clear patterns by institutional type. Two community colleges were among the seven with the largest increases and three were among those with the largest decreases; three state colleges increased and one decreased, independent institutions had two that increased and two that decreased, and universities had one in the most decreased group, and none in the most gained category.

Table 3

Changes in Proportion of Minority Enrollments
by Institutional Type

Type	N	1976 Enrollment	1984 Enrollment	Diff
University	8	5.8%	5.7%	-0.1%
State College	5	8.6	12.4	+3.7
Independent College	6	11.4	11.1	-0.3
Community College	7	8.7	8.8	+0.1
Total	26	8.5%	9.1%	+0.6%

Presidential Goals and Goals of Others

Although it is common to think of the goals of the president as reflecting the "goals" of the institution, this is not always correct. Others in the organization also have goals, and these may be consistent or inconsistent with those of the formal leaders. In order to assess the institutional consistency of presidential goals concerning access, other campus leaders' responses to the question "In what ways do you hope the institution will be different five years from now than it is today?" were analyzed. The respondents included trustee chairs, the heads of faculty senates or the presidents of faculty unions, and the vice president for academic affairs. Eleven of these additional respondents stated that access was one of their preferred goals. Of these 11 respondents, 3 were on campuses whose presidents had also indicated an access goal, and 8 were on campuses at which the president had not indicated such a goal. In total, therefore, there were 10 campuses upon which either the president and/or one of these three campus leaders indicated an access goal. They included two universities, two state colleges, two independent colleges, and four community colleges.

In order to consider the possible effects of concern for access by individuals in any of these roles, an analysis was made comparing changes in minority enrollments in these 10 institutions with changes in the other 16. These data are shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Changes in Minority Enrollment
Related to Presence of Access Goals
by at Least One of Four Campus Leaders

Access Goal Cited by at Least One Leader	N	1976 Enrollment	1984 Enrollment	Diff
Yes	10	13.0%	12.1%	-0.9%
No	16	5.6	7.2	+1.6
Total	26	8.5%	9.1%	+0.6%

Institutions at which at least one of the four leaders expressed an access goal had significantly higher minority enrollments in 1976 than those institutions at which no such goal was expressed. But compared to a change of +0.6 percentage points for all institutions, the 10 institutions in which one or more persons had an access goal experienced a minority enrollment decrease of -0.9 percentage points. Institutions in which none of the leaders expressed an access goal increased by 1.6 percentage points. The changes in these data indicating combined responses from all four categories of leader are comparable to those based only on presidential responses.

Campuses with the Greatest Changes

Neither the expressed goals of the president nor institutional type (with the exception of state colleges) appeared to be strongly related to changes in minority enrollments. In order to explore potential causal factors more carefully, the sample of 26 institutions was divided approximately into quarters, and the enrollment patterns of 7 institutions with the greatest increases were compared with those with the greatest decreases of minority enrollments. The data (shown in Table 5) indicate that the greatest decreases were seen in institutions that began the 1976 period with high minority enrollments. By 1984, minority enrollment in both groups was approximately the same.

Table 5

Changes in Minority Enrollment of Campuses with the Greatest Increases and Those with the Greatest Decreases

Changes in Enrollment of Minority Students	N	1976 Enrollment	1984 Enrollment	Diff
Greatest Increases	7	7.9%	13.6	+ 5.7%
Greatest Decreases	7	16.1	12.2	- 3.9%
Total	14	12.0%	12.9%	+ 0.9%

The interview data reviewed for this study do not indicate the reasons for the decreases. However, decreases in minority enrollment may be due to decreases in institutional commitments or interests, to changes in demographic characteristics of the potential applicant pools, or even to regression effects, which are to be expected statistically (extreme scores during one time period usually are found to be less extreme in another). In the seven institutions with the largest increases in minority enrollment, three presidents expressed quality goals, and one expressed both quality and access goals. In the seven institutions with the greatest decreases, three presidents expressed access goals, one expressed quality goals, and one expressed both access and quality goals. In other words, increases of minority enrollments were seen on campuses where presidents talked about quality; decreases of minority enrollments were seen on campuses where presidents talked about access.

Additional Analyses

In addition to the studies already discussed here, institutional and enrollment data were analyzed with ANOVA. There were no statistically significant relationships discovered between changes of minority enrollment and factors such as institutional category, control, whether the president was new or experienced, whether the president did or did not express access goals, or the actual 1976 level of minority enrollment. Total enrollment levels also were examined to determine if there was a relationship between changes in total enrollment and changes in minority enrollment. No differences were found. Institutions with the greatest increases in minority enrollments had a total enrollment increase of 9.2 percent during this period, identical to the changes seen in seven institutions with the greatest minority enrollment decreases.

Interpreting the Findings

On the face of it, the data in this study suggest that college presidents today are much more concerned with issues of quality than issues of access or equity. Also, changes in minority enrollment do not appear to be related to stated presidential goals for access. Although these conclusions may be valid, before accepting them, a number of caveats relating to the data and methodology should be considered. For example, changes in minority enrollments on some campuses may in fact have been related to presidential commitments of a predecessor rather than the incumbent; the adequacy of minority enrollments is at least in part a function of local conditions that were not considered in this study (an institution with a 10 percent minority enrollment may be doing well if the area from which it recruits students has a 5 percent minority population, but doing poorly if its pool has a 20 percent minority population); or the period of relative stability (these enrollment data were collected during a period that did not reflect the declines in minority enrollments seen since 1984). Also, some administrators with strong commitments to minority enrollments may not have stated them in response to the specific question asked, and minority enrollment goals may have been important to some presidents, but overshadowed in the president's response by some immediate event (a recent state budget cut, for example) with which the president was preoccupied.

Goals and Enrollments

This study indicated no simple relationships between presidential goals expressed as desired future states, and the changes in minority enrollments of the institutions. The data do not lend much support to the belief that minority enrollment is dependent upon administrators who have the goal of increasing access, but neither do they refute it. The sample is too small to draw supportable and universal generalizations. Nevertheless, the fact that minority enrollment increased on many campuses where the president did not indicate minority enrollment as a goal suggests that too much emphasis may be given to gaining administrative endorsement, and not enough to developing structures and processes that activate the pressures that guide administrative actions. In the final analysis, the issue is not what administrators say, but what campuses do.

It may be possible for administrative support of all kinds (for example, financial, staff, and data systems) to exist for a program on a campus even without any particular interest on the part of senior administrators. Those familiar with the complexities of organizational life can understand reasons why this might be so. Institutional programs are characterized by inertia, and even in the presence of administrative indifference (or outright hostility) past financial allocations can continue. Budgets tend to be historical and incremental, staffs once on board are difficult to reduce or remove, and political forces may make withdrawal of support from even an undesired program an unpleasant prospect. On most campuses, the stabilizing and self-correcting properties of organizations make programs once started difficult to stop (Birnbaum, forthcoming).

By and large, presidents do not initiate either social or educational movements -- they respond to them. Presidents have many programs, problems, and constituencies with which to be concerned, and their time is limited. Most (but not all) of what presidents do and how they spend their time is dictated not by their own personal interests but by their perceptions of the demands of the environment. This does not mean that presidents do only what is expedient. Rather, it suggests that when presidents, like the rest of us, must make choices among a number of legitimate but competing claims, those alternatives that are most prominent at the time tend to receive the most attention. For example, when presidents confront an environment that places pressure on them to look like rational managers they are likely to adopt management systems and processes. When important political and social agencies in their environment emphasize issues of quality, then concerns that are presumably related to quality will be high on their agenda. In the same way, when society places presidents under pressure to provide programs for access and student support, they will be likely to do so.

There is nothing wrong in attempting to increase a president's personal commitments to programs of minority recruitment or degree completion, but the results may be disappointing in the absence of other pressures that support those efforts. The reasons why generating such support is difficult, and some simple suggestions about what those concerned with access can do to facilitate change, are the subject of the final section of this paper.

Quality and Access: Public Policy Cycles and Administrative Support

The rhetoric of the 1960s asserted that "if you are not part of the solution, you're part of the problem." There is some truth to that claim, but it tends to oversimplify the exceptionally complex web of valid and competing interests within which social issues such as access and equity are considered in democratic societies. It is probably better to have an administrator interested in programs related to access than not, but it is a mistake to overemphasize the presidential role. Presidents find it relatively easy to stop things from happening, but difficult to start them. An understanding of what is happening on a campus is probably more likely to come from understanding forces external to it as from analyzing presidential goals or values.

Cycles of Political Concern

In his recent book The Cycles of American History, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. proposed that political emphases in America have alternated in regular cycles between concern for public and for private interests. He commented that others also have noted the "patterns of alternation, of ebb and flow, in human history" (p. 22). They have suggested cycles ranging from 12 to 30 years, with each new cycle apparently serving the stabilizing political function of correcting the excesses of the previous cycle.

Because higher education is embedded within the larger social, political, and economic systems of the country, it should not be surprising if these same cycles appeared in a consideration of the relationship between access and quality. Hansen and Stampen (1987) have identified such a 'pendulum effect' related to higher education policy, in which attention to larger social goals since the end of World War II "for the most part reflected efforts to resolve problems outside of higher education. However, for higher education these goals were translated into essentially two alternating mandates: to improve quality and to improve equity" (p. 18). The researchers proposed that there have been five identifiable periods or phases since World War II: a period of adjustment between 1946 and 1957; an emphasis upon quality between 1958 and 1967; a concern for equity between 1968 and 1972 with a consolidation of equity gains between 1973 and 1980; and the current emphasis upon quality that began in 1981. During each of these phases, emphasis on one goal came at the expense of the other.

Cycles of Organizational Concern

The cycles of interest seen at the levels of public policy may exist at the campus level as well. Colleges, like all other organizations, have many goals that may be in conflict with one another. Organizations respond to these conflicts "by attending to different goals at different times. Just as the political organization is likely to resolve conflicting pressures to 'go left' and 'go right' by first doing one and then the other, the business firm is likely to resolve conflicting pressures to 'smooth production' and 'satisfy customers' by first doing one thing and then doing the other. The resulting time buffer between goals permits the organization to solve one problem at a time, attending to one goal at a time" (Cyert and March 1963, 118).

Rivlin has characterized public policy debates in higher education as an "alternation of interest in distributive justice (access or equity) and the quality of the product that is being distributed" (Educational Access 1987, 8). Such alternation may be the way in which colleges and universities deal with problems such as "access" and "quality." Relatively little attention is given to either goal as a matter of continuous planning, but instead one or the other is likely to be brought to attention as a consequence of some specific series of events. When access is threatened, or falls below a level deemed acceptable by the institution or the social system, changes are instituted to address it. Little attention is given during that process to the goal of "quality," or to the impact of programs of access upon the achievement of quality. When the goal of access largely is accomplished (that is, when discrepancies between desired and actual access levels have become acceptable) attention may be transferred to problems of academic achievement, at which time the goal of access largely is forgotten. The establishment of specialized units to respond to either of these goals (for example, Equal Opportunity Programs and Honors Programs) increases the probability that the organization itself will deal with them, if for no other reason than the unit will create products (reports, complaints, budget requests, etc.) that will serve as attention cues for others. But the sequential attention to goals means that it is unlikely that they will be considered simultaneously, and so contradictions between them can be ignored.

These process are therefore "cybernetic" in nature; that is, they are self-correcting and based upon negative feedback (Birnbaum, forthcoming). Such processes are consistent with findings in this study that indicate that presidents with minority enrollment goals are from institutions with minority enrollment decreases; it may be that it is the enrollment decline that leads to the development of a goal, rather than the reverse. In the same way, presidents whose minority enrollments are increasing may no longer need to have that as a goal (that is, a desired future state of affairs) and can turn their attention to other matters.

Administrators and the Access/Quality Dilemma

There are probably two ways presidents may have an effect in increasing minority enrollments. The first way is having presidents who have (or can be convinced to develop) a strong moral commitment to educational equity. Such presidents will place the issue high on their personal agendas, and will make it one of the benchmarks of their administration. Although a great deal of attention has been given to advocating the appointment of such persons, it will probably continue to be the less common means through which the problem of minority enrollments is addressed. This is not because presidents are opposed to principles of access, but rather because most presidents most of the time are likely to have other commitments they consider to be more pressing.

The second way is to make the issue of minority enrollments a crisis. Fortunately, minority enrollment increases need not depend upon the moral commitments of presidents as long as presidents are responsive to pressures by external bodies that exercise some political power. T. Edward Hollander, Chancellor for Higher Education in New Jersey has commented about minority enrollment and retention: "we've found that when presidents make this a concern, there have been dramatic changes" (Jaschik 1987, 22). Presidents need not have a moral commitment to any specific organizational program in order for that program to become a matter of concern to them. Political pressure, to some extent from inside the campus but to an even greater degree from outside, may be even more effective than moral commitment in getting presidents to spend time and give attention to access, to secure resources, and to hold people accountable for performance.

Getting the Attention of Public Policy

Rivlin has commented that "the first characteristic of policy making is the need for a crisis. In higher education, as in other areas of public policy, the American political system seems unable to engage in a serious debate about policy change -- let alone to undertake action -- unless some form of doom is widely felt to be impending" (Educational Access 1987, 7). To increase public concern for minority enrollments will require that, to a greater degree than seen to date, the problem of declining participation rates be thought of as a major social crisis.

There are hopeful signs that our educational system, if not our political system, has retained a sensitivity to minority enrollments that may reverse present trends. One of the first such indications was a statement made by President Healy of Georgetown University. He called attention to the decrease in minority enrollments as early as 1984 and reminded his colleagues that "all of us acknowledge the ideal of integration, but our zeal for keeping access open and for working at the integration of our faculties has slipped" (Heller 1984, 1). The American Council on Education meeting at which Healy spoke passed a resolution urging campus attention to integration, and some participants "expressed fear that the problem was being overlooked in the 'band-wagon' of interest in improving the quality of higher education institutions" (Heller 1984, 15). Comparable statements were made at meetings of the College Board and ETS that same year.

Recent developments are encouraging. The state higher education executive officers (SHEEO) have issued a report recommending that minority student recruitment and achievement be treated as a "preeminent concern for the higher education community" ("A Difference of Degrees" 1987, 33). The Board of Directors of the American Council on Education held a special session in May 1987 focused on campus resources and initiatives for increasing minority enrollments: a blue-ribbon task force is being assembled on the topic, a handbook that campuses can use to improve minority participation in all aspects of campus life is being prepared, and minority participation was identified as ACE's "number one issue" (Green 1987). The number of black students taking the SATs reportedly rose 26 percent between 1985 and 1987, reversing the decline of the early 1980s (Fiske 1987). And the May/June 1987 edition of Change was devoted to examining minority enrollments and degree completion. This conference itself furthers the cause by continuing the process of bringing the issue back to public attention.

Schlesinger (1986) quotes Emerson speaking of conflicting elements in American democracy as saying "it may be safely affirmed of these two metaphysical antagonists, that each is a good half, but an impossible whole. Each exposes the abuses of the other, but in a true society, in a true man, both must combine" (p. 48). The genius of American higher education is that it attempts, to a degree not found elsewhere in the world, to support both quality and access. And indeed, in our educational system, neither quality nor access can survive alone; it is only in combination that they define our educational system. When the system overemphasizes one to the detriment of the other, both are threatened. As the State Higher Education Executive Officers have said, "the priority given equality can be no less than that accorded the issue of quality. A higher education system that fails to equip large numbers of its students to meet requisite standards can never be deemed high in quality, no matter what peaks of performance it inspires in a few" ("A Difference of Degrees" 1987, 33).

Getting the Attention of Campus Presidents

Administrators act when things go wrong. By and large they respond to deviations from accepted practice or expected performance, rather than initiate new programs. Some administrators may have personal or professional agendas that lead them without external pressures to respond to problems of access, but most probably do not. It is not because they oppose concepts of access, but because they find other things more pressing and therefore more important. Those who are concerned with access should think less about how to get administrators to share their commitments, and more about how to get administrative attention.

In public institutions in general, and in institutions that are part of multicampus systems in particular, much administrative attention is given to the concerns expressed by the state chancellor, system head, or state coordinating board. When those concerns are highly publicized, or when they are related to resource allocation decisions, they tend to become critical matters deserving of executive attention. In the Institutional Leadership Project there were a number of examples of administrative attention directed by agendas set at higher system levels. Those who wish to influence campus administrators should probably direct some of their energy to influencing the external political and bureaucratic bodies to which campus administrations are responsive. This responsiveness may in part explain why the major increases in minority enrollments were seen in the state college sector.

One of the ways administrators sense that things are going wrong is through the analysis of data. It is unclear whether on many campuses today administrators regularly see accurate data on minority enrollments and/or degree completion rates. For example, although national data indicate minority enrollment is declining, academic vice presidents in 1985 (El-Khawas 1986a) were much more likely to report increases rather than decreases in black and Hispanic enrollments during the previous four years, and to overwhelming state that their ability to attract minority students had recently improved. One year later they reported that 1986 minority enrollment increased even further (El-Khawas 1986b). Those concerned with questions of access on their campus might find their time at least as well spent (at least initially) in the mundane and drab activity of getting changes in the way campuses collect, analyze, and report data as in the more glamorous endeavor of program development. A campus that publishes and disseminates annual reports on enrollment and attrition by ethnic group is more likely to activate the interest of concerned campus groups than a campus that does not collect or publish such data. Such information might be even more potent if published together with bench-mark data such as national enrollment distributions, enrollments in comparable institutions, and the ethnic distribution in the geographic areas from which the institution draws its students. The availability of such data not only provides attention cues for those sharing similar concerns, but also provides people who wish to support the development of programs with powerful arguments for their positions.

In addition to emphasizing data, campus groups concerned with access should give attention to accountability. Most people are not concerned with most issues on most campuses most of the time. Administrators spend much of their time dealing with transitory problems as they come up, and moving on to new issues as old ones fade. If concern for minority enrollments and degree achievement is uncoordinated and sporadic, administrative interest is likely to follow suit. On the other hand, continuous interest that is demonstrated by responsible advocacy, willingness to participate in program development, requests for regular reports, and the use of public campus forums to confront the issue, will convince administrators that they will be held accountable for responding to this problem. This makes it more likely that structures to support such programs will be developed.

Processes for accountability can be developed at all levels of the educational system. The State Higher Education Executive Officers (SHEEOs) who coordinate public systems of higher education at the state level have proposed that the individual campuses should be dealt with not just by moral suasion, but also through the development of structures and guidelines that focus their efforts. Moreover, they said, "this is an issue of such high priority that institutions need to be put on formal notice that both actions and outcomes will be subject to outside review" ("A Difference of Degrees" 1987, 38). In the same way, college presidents can be asked to conduct a formal review of minority access progress each year for dissemination to the campus community, thus making presidents accountable to campus constituencies. In turn, when admissions offices are asked for regular reports on minority recruitment activities, academic support programs will be required to produce and distribute analyses of minority student support services and outcomes. Finally, when affirmative action officers are asked to formally describe the ethnic distribution of annual promotion, recruitment, and tenure activity, they more likely will give attention to issues of access and equity than officers who are not required to make such reports.

Influencing the Cycles

Colleges and universities are embedded in webs of interaction with social, political, economic, and cultural forces that have a significant effect upon what they are expected to do. It is implausible to believe that public attention on such issues is a response to the activities and desires of college presidents, and much more likely that presidential activities and desires are a response to public attention. Presidential support of a program on most institutions can probably have a marginal effect on campus performance, and therefore is desirable, but it is unlikely to overcome other barriers to attendance and degree completion. While educators can engage in activities on every campus that make minority enrollment and completion a matter of concern to the administration of their institution, it is probably true that the greatest impact will come not from administrative behavior on the campus but from public policy decisions at the state and federal level, and in particular from decisions concerning student financial aid.

If the cyclic theory of a natural succession of alternating concerns for access and quality is correct, it can be expected that concern for quality will continue to increase until its excesses (at least in part related to a reduction in minority enrollments) are seen as a crisis. This will then activate groups whose political power will force a realignment of interests in access. To some extent, this process may already be in motion. But the full cycle itself may be a long one, and many potential students may be lost as it plays out. Individual acts to respond to the crisis of access as it is reflected in decreases in minority enrollments may seem inconsequential in the face of the present public concern for quality, but they nonetheless serve an important function. The cumulative effects of such acts may help to again place access as a major issue on the public policy agenda, and bring the current imbalance between these two objectives into a more reasonable equilibrium.

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